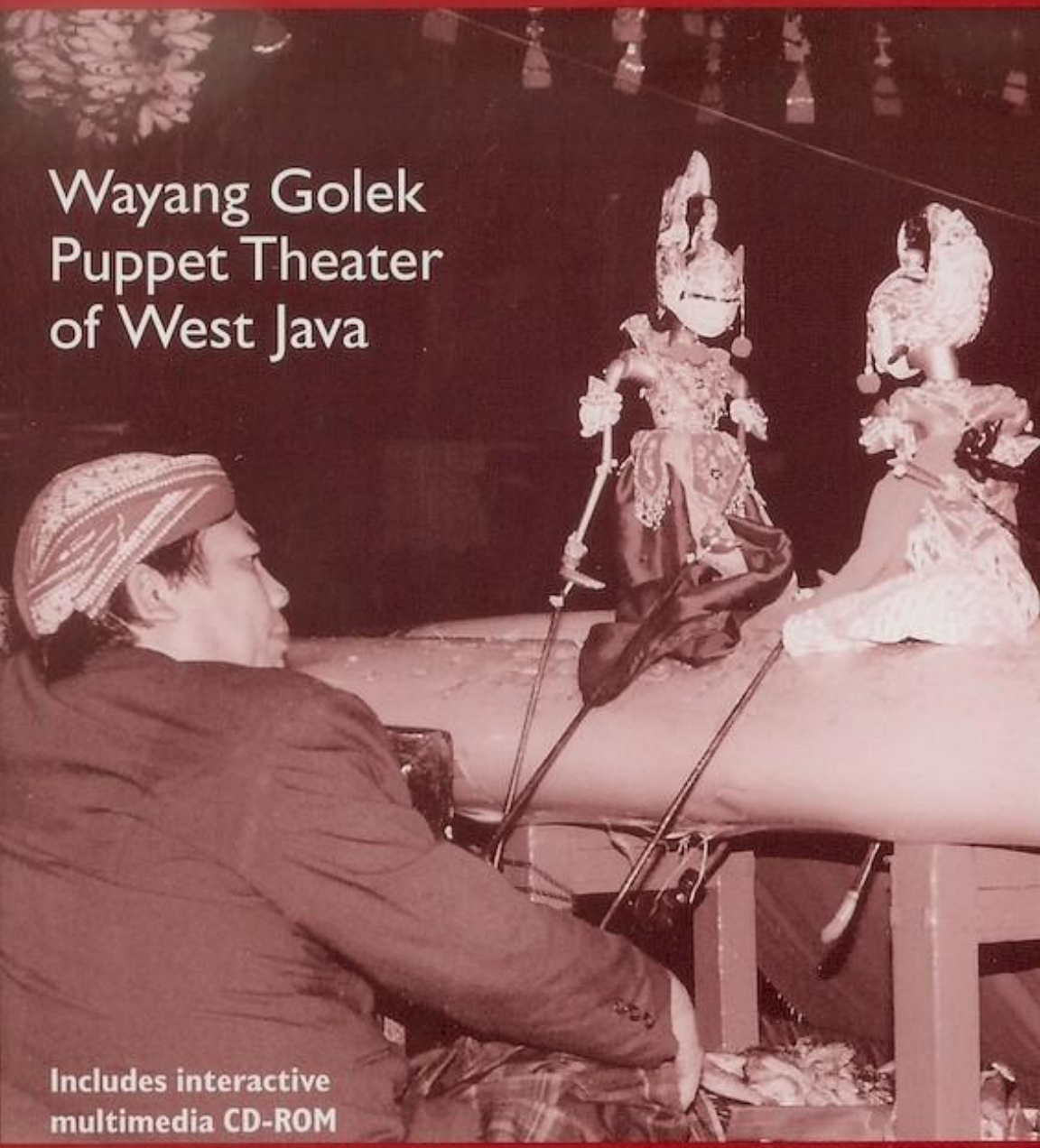
POWER PLAYS

Wayang Golek Puppet Theater of West Java



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Power Plays

Wayang Golek Puppet Theater of West Java

Andrew N. Weintraub

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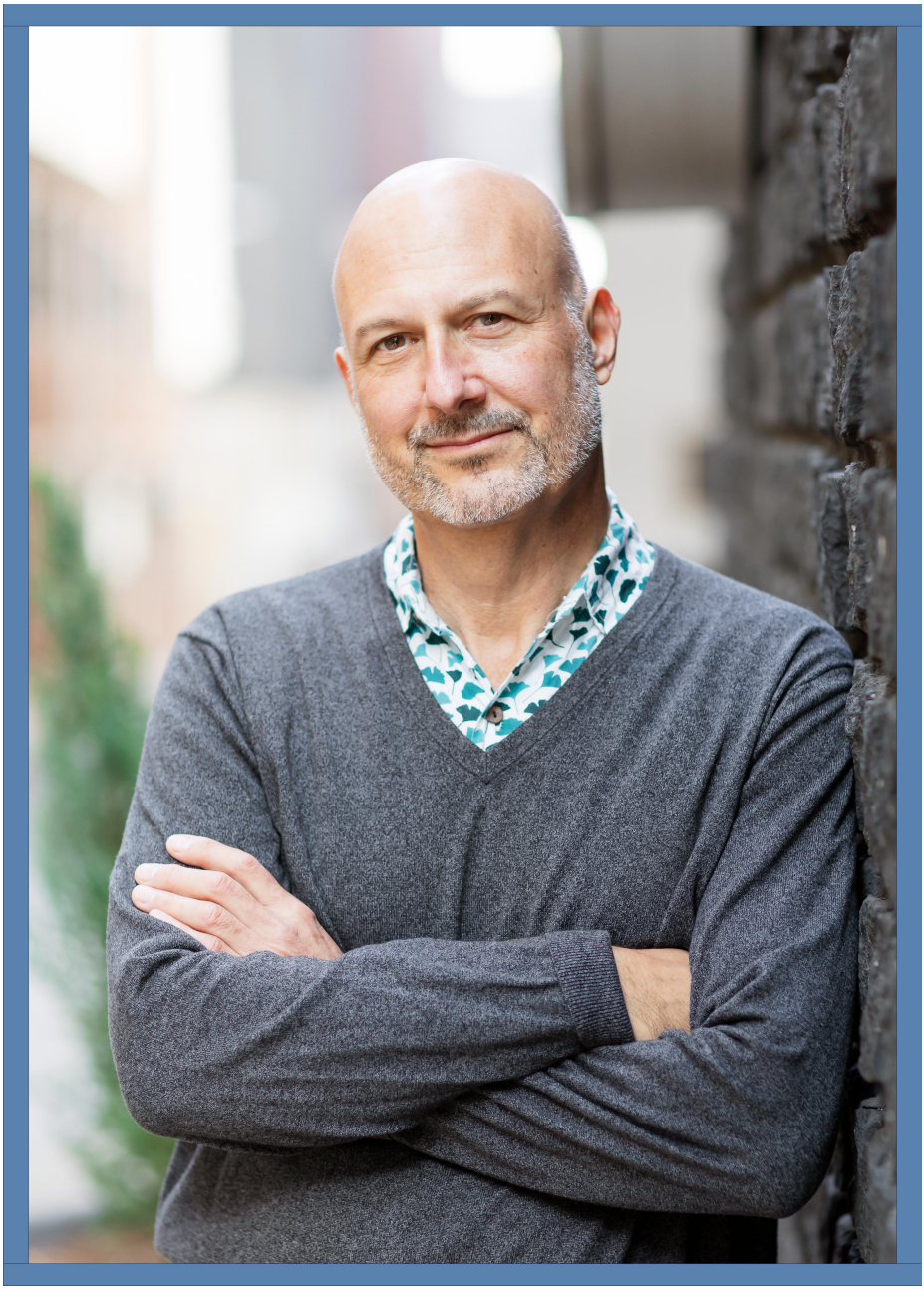
For my parents,
Malcolm and Judith Weintraub



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Acknowledgments

I began formulating the topic of this book in 1993 as a Ph.D. student, but the work started much earlier. My interest in Sundanese *wayang golek* puppet theater commenced in 1983 as an undergraduate music student at the University of California, Santa Cruz, where I was fortunate to study with two teachers, one from Indonesia and one from Illinois, who helped shape the direction of my life and career. Undang Sumarna, one of the kindest and most unselfish men I have ever met, first introduced me to gamelan, which was offered as a class in the music department. Kathy Foley, a female *dalang* (puppeteer) whose dissertation on wayang golek is an essential resource on the topic, captured my imagination with stories of powerful gods, despotic kings, brave warriors, outrageous ogres, and subversive clowns. Armed with letters and instructions from these two mentors, as well as a tape recorder and a small grant from the university, I traveled to Bandung, West Java, to study gamelan for three months during the summer of 1984.

I did not know that I was doing ethnomusicology or "fieldwork" that summer until I returned from my trip and met Ricardo Trimillos, a visiting professor at UCSC that year. Ric helped me turn what little I had learned in Santa Cruz and Indonesia into a senior thesis. He also inspired me to pursue advanced degrees in music, with a specialization in ethnomusicology, at the University of Hawaii and at the University of California, Berkeley. I am deeply grateful to Ric for his sharp and always insightful criticism, his sensitive guidance, and his unfailing support of my work.

I continued to visit Bandung several times during the next ten years to study and write about Sundanese performing arts, including *tembang Sunda, penca silat, gamelan degung,* and *pantun Sunda.* I studied these arts as most ethnomusicologists do: by getting to know the people who make the

music, watching performances, studying and performing the music itself, and talking to whoever had the patience to listen to me.

Several factors led me to research and write this book. Like many wayang scholars, I was fascinated by wayang golek as a "total" art form, one that combined music, dance, poetry, and drama. I was also drawn to wayang golek as a living form of modern popular entertainment rooted in the traditions of the past. Every Sundanese person I know has a relationship to wayang golek, however tenuous. Among its fans, wayang golek resonates with deeply held beliefs in significant and powerful ways.

The field research conducted in 1994–95 was supported by a Fulbright-Hays Doctoral Dissertation Research Award. I thank the Indonesian Institute of Science (Lembaga Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia) for facilitating the research and Saini Kosim (Saini K.M.), former director of the Academy of Performing Arts in Bandung (Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia Bandung, ASTI Bandung), who sponsored my stay in Indonesia. The American-Indonesian Exchange Foundation (AMINEF) was instrumental in facilitating my research. I owe a huge debt to Nelly Pelhoupessy for her encouragement, advice, and friendship throughout my stay in Indonesia. It would be impossible to list here all of the people who supported and contributed to this study. Some individuals, however, deserve special mention because without their participation this text could not have been written.

During fieldwork, I often struggled to create some way of fitting the patterns, the parts, and the proverbs into a familiar framework; but, like fitting a square peg into a round hole, they resisted. Unlike my fellow Sundanese music students, I requested private lessons, asked direct questions, and wrote things down. Thankfully, my teachers also resisted. I am grateful to them for turning our private lessons into group activities, for teaching me that writing things down (theory) would get in the way of a deeper understanding (practice), and for refusing to answer my questions in a straightforward manner. As Ade Kosasih told me, the goal of my lessons was not the mastery of technique, but the "internal struggle against ignorance." This knowledge, this *elmu,* would enable me to deal creatively with new situations, new people, and new challenges. Patience is an art and I thank my teachers for sharing this valuable life lesson, which I am now passing on (sometimes impatiently) to my six-year-old son, Noah.

Performers of wayang golek made my field research enjoyable and productive. Dalang love to talk and do so brilliantly. Their wordplay and abstract thought have had a significant impact on my own attitudes toward life and work. I am deeply grateful to the extended Sunarya family for sharing their knowledge of wayang golek with me. I am particularly grateful to Asep Sunandar for his friendship and generosity, to Ade Kosasih for his wisdom, and to Iden Subasrana Sunarya, Ugan Sunagar Sunarya, Nani, and Agus Sunarya for their humor.

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I could not have written this book without the collaboration of Yoseph Iskandar, who has been my dear friend, colleague, and research assistant since 1987. Yoseph helped me transcribe and translate performance texts and interviews, traveled with me to performances, produced synopses of approximately fifty commercial cassettes of wayang golek, and answered numerous questions about a huge range of topics. Dede Candra Sunarya and Laksmi P. Margarani also gave me helpful insights on the performance texts that appear in this book.

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In Bandung during 1994–95 several families opened their homes to me. Tasdik Margantara made me feel like a member of his family. Asep Sunandar Sunarya and his wife, Nenah, were remarkably kind to me. I am grateful

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new and surprising about myself every day. My parents always encouraged me to follow my desires and they gave me the opportunities to pursue them. My father taught me the art of determination and the joy of working hard at something you love. My mother provided unconditional love and a warm and receptive sounding board for my ideas. I dedicate this book to them.

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The Birth of Gatotkaca: A Sundanese Wayang Golek Purwa Performance from West Java. Translation and introduction. Jakarta: Lontar Publications, 1998.

"Contest-ing Culture: Sundanese *Wayang Golek Purwa* Competitions in New Order Indonesia." *Asian Theatre Journal* 18 (1) (2001): 87–104.

"Instruments of Power: 'Multi-Laras' Gamelan in New Order Indonesia." *Ethnomusicology* 45 (2) (2001): 197–227.

"New Order Politics and Popular Entertainment in *Wayang Golek Purwa.*" In *Puppet Theater in Contemporary Indonesia: New Approaches to Performance-Events,* ed. Jan Mrazek. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2002.

"Screening Identity: Televisual Mediations of Wayang Golek Puppet Theater in Modern Indonesia." Media, Performance, and Identity Research Circle, University of Wisconsin–Madison (website publication, forthcoming, 2004).

"Sejarah Wayang Golek Melalui Kaset: Sebuah Analisa Tiga Dalang, 1970–2000." In *Tulak Bala: Sistem Pertahanan Tradisional Masyarakat Sunda dan Kajian Lainnya Mengenai Masyarakat Sunda.* Bandung, Indonesia: Yayasan Pusat Studi Sunda, 2003.

"Wayang Golek: The Sound and Celebration of Sundanese Puppet Theater." Vermont: Multicultural Media, 2001. Six-CD set and accompanying booklet.

Orthography and Conventions

With the exception of personal names, the spelling of Sundanese and Indonesian words follows the orthographic conventions officially adopted by the Indonesian government in 1972. Citations from written materials published before 1972 are reproduced using the original spelling. In pre-1972 sources, for example, /j/ was written /dj/, /y/ was written /j/, and /c/ was written /tj/. The change from /oe/ to /u/ was put into practice after the Revolution in 1950. In the case of Indonesian personal names, I have chosen to maintain the orthography used by the person named.

The use of language levels to indicate status among speakers in the Sundanese language is described in chapter 1.

I have chosen to follow Sundanese and Indonesian rules for pluralization, in which the plural form of a term is not differentiated from its singular form, but can be inferred from the context of its usage. In text excerpts from performance, however, I have indicated a group of characters of the same type (*raksasa,* or ogre) by doubling (*raksasa-raksasa*).

Sundanese and Indonesian terms appear in italics only at their first occurrence in the text.

All of the translations into English from Sundanese or Indonesian are my own.

Following Sundanese conventions, I have capitalized each word in the titles of stories (e.g., "Eka Panca Tunggal") and songs (e.g., "Buah Kawung").

The Battle of Evermore (lyrics)
• lyrics based on Scottish history and Tolkien's Lord of the Rings: the prince of peace (Aragorn), Queen of Light (Eowyn), the dark lord (Sauron), those who "ride in black" (Ringwraiths)
• The Queen of Light first appears and takes a bow
• Angels of Avalon is a reference to the legends of Merlin and King Arthur. It could also describe the Battle of Pelennor ("The drums will shake the castle wall, the ring wraiths ride in black)
• Denny sings the part of the people (the town crier) in the imperative: throw down your plow and hoe; take up your swords and fly
• Pearl is the narrator

goyang - movement, dance
Cengkok - ornament, individual style
Melayu - Malay trademark

INTRODUCTION

As on so many occasions during my study of *wayang golek* (puppet theater) in West Java, I found myself traveling with a professional puppeteer (*dalang*), playing music as part of his troupe, and watching ancient tales take place in "wayang time" (*jaman pewayangan*).[1] We were en route to a small farming community of about two hundred people called Dukuh Kawung in the regency of Majalengka. The trip along the road from my home base in Bandung to Majalengka takes about two to three hours and snakes through the mountainous terrain of Sumedang. It was the dry season and the roads were good. The two large trucks carrying the instruments, sound system, and sound crew had left earlier that morning. I often traveled in a van with the musicians so that I could arrive at the gig early enough to play the opening music before the dalang arrived. On this occasion, however, I hitched a ride with the dalang in his private jeep. We stopped at a roadside restaurant in Sumedang to sample the famous fried tofu. The dalang talked with locals about what was going on in their village, no doubt gathering material for that evening's performance.

After arriving in the district of Leuwi Munding, we made our way to the *kampung*, or village, of Heuleut. There were no signs or billboards; to find where the wayang was taking place, one simply asked people. Approaching the kampung, I could hear the sound of wayang. The musicians had been on stage for an hour already, playing the *tatalu,* a suite of instrumental pieces

signaling to spectators that the show was about to begin. The road leading in to the village was already filled with vendors selling hats, shoes, toys, clothes, and many varieties of food. The smell of fried cassava, clove cigarettes, and grilled skewered meat hung heavily in the hot humid evening air. People of all ages had started gathering to see what was going on.

I was fortunate to have been befriended by Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya, the most celebrated and rewarded Sundanese dalang of his generation. Asep Sunandar and his troupe Giri Harja III were hired to perform wayang golek almost every night in different counties of West Java for Sundanese families hosting celebrations of weddings, circumcisions, and other significant life-cycle events. The legendary Sunarya family of dalang had traveled up and down these roads countless times, building up a family network of Sundanese friends, contacts, and admirers. Through Asep Sunandar and his family, I was given a privileged window into the world of Sundanese wayang golek. It is through this window—and others provided by Sundanese artists, critics, officials, and friends—that I share my understanding of this living performance form.

Our first stop was the home of the host, a wealthy rice farmer. We were served tea and snacks immediately. I remembered seeing him at Asep Sunandar's home several months earlier to negotiate the fee for the performance. In the days before cassettes and television had helped to create "superstar" performers, each village had its own dalang. But now, with a rise in per capita income, improved access to transportation, better roads that expanded the territory of successful dalang, and a mass-media infrastructure linking the country together, hosts could afford to pay for the prestige associated with hiring performers known throughout West Java.

At 9 P.M., we made our way to the stage, a raised platform that extended outward from the host's home into an open area adjoining the main road. I followed Asep Sunandar, carrying his personal bag of supplies: a thermos of coffee, a cup, vitamins, a towel to wipe his brow, and a carton of his favorite cigarettes. Word soon spread that the dalang had arrived and people began cheering. Even if they had never seen a performance of wayang golek, many recognized Asep Sunandar's handsome face from appearances on television and his image plastered on the cover of one of his many cassette recordings. Some knew his voice from cassette recordings that were

played frequently on late-night radio shows. And many had heard gossip about his sexual exploits, wild lifestyle, and extraordinary wealth. After all, he was a dalang! He was larger than life and yet Sundanese identified with him as one of their own.

The stage was covered with a canopy and decorated with stalks of bananas, colorful paper, and the head of a water buffalo that had been slaughtered for the ritual feast celebrating this important event. Asep Sunandar positioned himself in a seated position behind the *jagat,* the puppet "stage" consisting of two banana tree trunks (*gebog*) lying horizontally on a metal frame, one slightly higher than the other. The musicians sat behind the dalang. The jagat was located toward the front of the stage, facing the spectators. The wooden rods extending through the puppets' bodies are sharpened at the bottom end, enabling the dalang to place the puppets in an upright standing position in the banana logs. On either side of the jagat were rows of puppets (*janturan*) facing toward the dalang and musicians. These puppets normally do not function in the play. A large janturan with several rows of puppets added to the visual spectacle of the performance and blocked the spectators' view of the stage so that only the two female singers (*sinden*),[2] who were elevated slightly on pillows above the other musicians, could be seen by spectators located in the area facing the stage.

The gamelan instruments were packed onto the stage and they looked extraordinarily large and shiny under the fluorescent lights. This was not the conventional set of six to ten instruments that normally is used to accompany wayang golek. These large-scale instruments allowed the musicians to play pieces in different tuning systems (*laras*). I had been studying with members of this troupe for about a year and I was still amazed how quickly and seamlessly they changed from one tuning to another. They had transposed many of the familiar wayang golek pieces and they played new arrangements that no other group played. The musicians played these pieces nightly in performances lasting from two to eight hours. They executed their parts flawlessly, almost automatically.

An official from the regional office of the Department of Education and Culture mounted the stage and signaled abruptly to the musicians to stop playing. The officer spoke in low monotonous tones indicating the authoritative nature of the words he spoke. In Sundanese, he explained that the

purpose of this event was to celebrate the circumcision (*sunatan*) of the host's four-year-old son.[3] Switching into the Indonesian language, he warned everyone in the audience not to cause trouble, drink alcohol, or disrupt the performance by climbing onto the stage. The anticipation and excitement of watching this tremendously popular dalang, combined with audience resistance to hearing yet another official speech, seemed only to raise the dynamic level of the crowd. The crowd was particularly boisterous that night. Despite official warnings, the performance was disrupted several times and even stopped due to fights among spectators. But village security guards and police were close at hand in case things got out of control. They would not calm down until after the play's first scene, around 11 P.M.

Asep Sunandar, like most dalang, did not know what tale he would choose to tell that night. After meditating onstage during the playing of "Kawitan," the opening musical piece, he decided on "Eka Panca Tunggal," a tale about the search for knowledge symbolized by the struggle over a magical amulet called the Layang Jamus Kalimusada. Several aspiring dalang crowded onto the stage to assist Asep with the puppets; this is where the knowledge of wayang golek is passed on. Asep grabbed the base of the *kayon*—a leather puppet representing in this case a tree of life—and pulled it forcefully out of the banana-log stage. He touched it to the right, then to the left, and then removed it altogether. The music intensified as the dalang brought out a human-looking puppet that he danced in an almost human way, signifying a transition between this world and the world of wayang golek. As the audience settled into wayang time, the dalang skillfully brought out the king and his retinue in the first scene and began depicting the mood of the scene in the songs that followed.

Most of the spectators had come to hear Asep Sunandar's bawdy Sundanese jokes. Others came to watch him bring the puppets to life in tightly choreographed battle scenes. And still others were there to watch and to listen to the female singers and the powerful drumming of *jaipongan,* a popular form of Sundanese dance and music. Asep and his troupe responded, as they usually did: the beginning scenes were full of music and dance, the story line was simple, and the philosophical content was minimal.

The dalang's older brother Ade Kosasih Sunarya could calm an audience to silence with his sweet voice, poetic language, clever proverbs, and

ingenious narrative structure, but Asep commanded the audience's attention with his strong voice, ribald humor, dazzling manipulation skills, and spectacular music. For Ade Kosasih and Asep Sunandar, entertainment was a tool to get people to feel good about themselves, or "love themselves," by giving them pleasure; only then would they feel compelled to act in positive ways (pers. comm., February 18, 1994). Through pleasure, Ade Kosasih explained, people became more fulfilled and aware of their bodies, and, as their self-awareness grew, they could potentially become closer to God (ibid).

Most of the spectators were uninvited guests from the village and neighboring communities. Spectators could have gathered at a movie theater that night, but films cost money and wayang is almost always free. Moreover, films do not respond to people in performance the way the dalang can. Asep Sunandar was adept at "reading" the hearts and minds of the people and responding to their desires. He could sense what they wanted and could represent what they were feeling through language, puppet movements, and music.

Performances of wayang golek during Suharto's New Order regime (1966–98) always included some government messages. Asep Sunandar usually inserted material about government ideology (Pancasila), family planning (*keluarga berencana*), and economic development (*pembangunan*), especially toward the beginning of the performance, when officials were still present. For this performance, Asep Sunandar had borrowed some lines from a newspaper article written by a major general in the army that urged villagers to plant sugar palm trees (*kawung*) in their villages. The sinden sang "Buah Kawung," a song about the fruit of the kawung tree. Kawung trees had many applications and could be used to bolster the local economy. The planting of trees would protect forests and prevent erosion.

But it was the jokes that killed. Around midnight the Sundanese clown puppet Cepot emerged and suddenly the crowd pushed forward. Although I did not understand all the nuances of the Sundanese language, the audience laughter was palpable and contagious and I laughed along. This village was not a place Asep Sunandar played often, and he pulled out all the stops that night, doing his stock gags, and introducing the vomiting puppets that had made him both famous among audiences and derided by

older dalang and competitors. As the dialogue between dalang and spectators intensified, I reflected on a conversation I had had earlier that day with a teacher at the music conservatory. He had told me that contemporary dalang like Asep Sunandar had degraded the art form by turning it into a cheap form of entertainment. The academic lamented that wayang golek had changed from a traditional medium of instruction to a modern form of communication. Older dalang had chastised Asep for changing the artistic standards of performance. Wayang golek had become too dialogic and the dalang now "followed" the spectators rather than "leading" them. On the other hand, government officials prodded him to use his puppets to promote state ideology. And Asep Sunandar's competitors criticized him for selling out by inserting advertisements for commercial products into his narrative and songs. This book chronicles these competing forms of cultural authority, and the struggles over the artistic practice of wayang golek, which have important ideological stakes in modern Indonesia.

Power Plays examines the ways in which meanings about identity, citizenship, and community are produced through systems of representation, particularly through theater, music, language, and discourse. Among the Sundanese people of West Java, wayang golek commands large audiences and represents a powerful form of cultural authority.[4] When former Indonesian president Suharto seized power in 1965–66, he implemented economic changes, altering conditions of cultural production in significant ways.[5] The era of intensified commodification of cultural production can be traced to the New Order government, a regime ballasted by foreign investments, transnational capital, and global market production. The Suharto administration laid the groundwork for new electronic technologies, infrastructures of media communications, and consumerism in Indonesia. Increased mass mediation and mass production of culture had a profound impact on Sundanese wayang golek. Bolstered by new media technologies, government sponsorship, and new forms of promotion and publicity, a small number of dalang achieved dominance among a large field of performers in the 1970s. Opportunities for artistic development narrowed considerably as the majority of dalang were excluded from competing within an emerging wayang golek "industry." I refer to the small group of dalang who became valorized through these new systems of publicity as superstars.

The Suharto regime defined a novel sphere of symbolic practice and representation—one distinctly New Order in character—in its effort to *nationalize* culture. Modernization of tradition and nationalization of particular forms of regional popular culture were promoted through a burgeoning cassette, television, radio, and entertainment industry buttressed by government financial, educational, and artistic institutions. Dalang were cultivated as "information officers" (*juru penerangan*) to support policies designed to integrate Sundanese audiences into the state's project of economic development and nationalism. Government alliances with popular performers helped communicate government messages and legitimize the narrative construction of the nation that defined the Suharto regime.

Efforts to control the production and reception of wayang golek did not, however, necessarily give rise to audience identification with state programs and objectives. While superstar dalang capitalized on the performance opportunities the state had to offer, they also used these opportunities to debate and contest the power and authority of the state, effectively creating new narratives of the nation. Dalang occupied a liminal position as they attempted to represent the often conflicting ideological interests of the state, on the one hand, and their popular audiences, on the other. This book addresses the following questions: What social and cultural conditions made it possible for superstars to develop within Sundanese wayang golek during Suharto's New Order? How did the artistic practices of popular performers serve the state's mission of development, while also helping to produce popular resistance to such programs? How did performers themselves negotiate the contradictory interests and desires of hosts, audiences, and critics? How does a study of performers, artistic practices, and cultural production reveal social relations of power and authority in New Order Indonesia? How did wayang golek, which had been cultivated under Suharto's authority, participate in the shifting terrain of national politics in the post-Suharto era?

Using interviews with performers, musical transcriptions, translations of narrative and song texts, and archival materials gathered during three years of fieldwork in West Java over a twenty-year period, I analyze the shifting and flexible nature of *padalangan,* the "art of the Sundanese dalang." While *Power Plays* is not a systematic study of repertoire, plot

types, character types, or performance structure, studies of actual performances illuminate the stylistic and formal elements and situate wayang golek as a social process, deeply embedded in the changing conditions of Sundanese culture and society. Wayang golek and superstar dalang thus occupy social spaces from which the changing artistic, political, and economic conditions of cultural production and reception can be analyzed, particularly as these conditions are forged through conflict, accommodation, and negotiation. These tensions, which take shape through the constantly evolving set of formal artistic practices of padalangan, are the subject of this book.

Theoretical Framework

In *Zouk: World Music in the West Indies,* Jocelyne Guilbault (1993, xvii) illustrates Zouk's multiplicity of meanings, as described by musicians, aficionados, fans, academics, and government officials. Zouk's meaning cannot be fixed because "there is no consensus about what the music has to say or how it speaks to [people]" (xix). This technique of showing "multiple perspectives on the same musical phenomenon" has been extremely useful in trying to formulate what wayang golek means to Sundanese people of different classes, genders, ages, occupations, and subject positions. Wayang golek also resists simple and monolithic formulations, being many things to Sundanese people: sacred ritual, secular entertainment, art, commerce, propaganda, and subversion. Even within the same performance, spectators respond differently and come away with strikingly different impressions. Indeed, a dalang builds these multiple interpretations into a performance in order to appeal to the diverse interests of his spectators at a given performance.[6] Illustrating this point, Dede Amung Sutarya, a superstar dalang of the New Order period, divides the word *wayang* into two syllables, *wa* and *yang* (pers. comm., March 16, 1995). Using a Sundanese system of etymologizing called *kirata,* he then constructs two new words based on the respective syllables, *wa*dah (empty vessel, bowl) and kaha*yang* (wishes, desires). By connecting the two words he explains that wayang is like an empty vessel filled with a variety of elements, depending on the wishes of the host, dalang, or audience. Further, the dalang must be flexible

in order to accommodate changes in the constituency of his audience, who come and go at leisure during the course of a six- to nine-hour performance. Dede Amung stresses that a given performance is immediately linked to the circumstances of a specific place and time rather than a predetermined aesthetic product.

However, struggles over the meaning of wayang golek in West Java—among performers, sponsors, audiences, critics, media producers, and public officials—take place in various discursive spheres, including spoken and written discourse, as well as within music, visual imagery, and other elements of performance. Discursive practice emphasizes how the construction of meaning depends on relations of power that either sanction and institutionalize or prohibit and marginalize symbolic production (Foucault 1980). For example, privileged access to cultural resources—including puppets, instruments, musicians, sound systems, and transportation—has severely limited representational practices to only a few individuals. Further, media production and distribution of wayang golek on cassette recordings and television broadcasts constrain the kinds of cultural texts produced, the ways in which they are received, and the meanings that are available to audiences.

This book emphasizes the dynamic multiplicity of subject positions as they intersect, collide, or converge in the discourse and performance practice of wayang golek. Wayang golek characters convey philosophical principles that are communicated by performers indirectly through symbolic allusion and are accessible only to a small percentage of spectators. Simultaneously, wayang golek is a form of public entertainment that incorporates popular music, colloquial language, and carnivalesque humor. It can be used as a tool of propaganda for local and national government interests or, conversely, as a vehicle for criticizing the hegemonic sociopolitical order. Performance is a crucial site for activating these multiple contradictory interests, and a dalang's popularity hinges on his ability to throw these contradictions into relief.

Wayang Golek and the Indonesian Nation-State

Political scientist Benedict Anderson provides a schematic view of how social relations in New Order Indonesia can be analyzed. He explains the

uneasy coupling of the hyphenated modern invention, the nation-state, whose symbolic side—the nation—is enforced by its uncanny double—the coercive state. The state "can never justify its demand on a community's labor, time, and wealth simply by its existence, [and thus] finds in the nation its modern legitimation" (1990, 95). The nation is thus a form of legitimation, an ideology that secures the interests of the state.

The focus on vertical social relations between state and society follows from Anderson's proposed framework in which he describes "nation-states [as] a variable mix of two types of general interests—those we can think of as the state's and those of the nation's" (1990, 96). The hyphen elides division and contradiction between the state, or the representative(s), and the nation, or the represented. The state in effect excludes other "representational" or "participatory" interests (96). The nation, the people, the state, and society are abstractions that demarcate the interface of antagonism and struggle between an inside and an outside of state representation.[7]

The scope and heterogeneity of this outside is formidable, given that the New Order consisted of a "bureaucratic polity . . . a form of government in which there is no regular participation or mobilization of the people" (Jackson 1978, 4). In the case of the rural masses, for example, the government observed the semi-official doctrine of the "floating mass," which stated that "Indonesia's unsophisticated rural masses are not to be distracted from the tasks of development by political parties. . . . Under a law established in 1975, political parties are formally banned from establishing branches below the regency level" (Anderson 1990, 115). Although the peasant population was barred from participating in the political process, they had to be persuaded that their hard work was crucial to the country's economic development. Cultural institutions had to reach this floating mass, where political institutions could not, in order to recruit Indonesia's rural masses to the project of national development.

The concept of the nation as an amalgamated political community emerged as a legitimizing construct, deployed by diverse social actors contending for representation of their interests in culture, politics, and economics. The nation, as a social category that organizes social cohesion, was most threatened with disintegration by regional identities whose modes of affiliation and socialization might compete with those of the Indonesian

state. During this period, the highly diverse national terrain presented a challenge to the Indonesian nation-state, as it worked to sublate differences of culture, ethnicity, gender, class, and region.

Sundanese identity—what it means to be Sundanese—cannot be defined in positivistic terms as a set of essentialized cultural traits rooted in geography, language, values, foodways, and artistic preferences. Like all forms of identity, Sundanese ethnic identity is historically contingent, socially unstable, and culturally contested (Clifford 1988). Sundanese identity is structured through social practices of signification, as people attach meanings to symbols that are represented in cultural forms (Hall 1997). This process of identity construction and signification raises questions of authority and representation—who is empowered to define what it means to be Sundanese? Under what historical and material conditions, and in what forms, do ideas about Sundanese identity take their particular shape? How does Sundanese identity emerge in relation to other forms of identity, including class, gender, race, age, and regional affiliation, as well as in relation to other ethnic groups within the larger framework of the nation-state of Indonesia? As a cultural practice that helps shape notions of Sundanese identity, wayang golek makes available certain kinds of representations and excludes others. These representational practices, the institutions that privilege people's access to them, and the meanings that arise out of them, will be described in the following chapters through an analysis of the language, music, visual imagery, and discourse of wayang golek.

Wayang golek as a cultural form that permeates Sundanese ethnic identity and society became a privileged space for the ideological reconciliation of ethnic and national identity in New Order Indonesia. Sundanese identity in this case became a crucial margin for centralized state power to penetrate and organize. The dalang's ability to reach large numbers of people marked wayang golek as an important site for the dissemination of government propaganda, programs, and policy. Because of their ability to reach the masses, dalang were called upon by the New Order government to act as information officers to persuade Sundanese to contribute their efforts toward the state's program of national development.

Forms of negotiation, accommodation, and resistance to the discourse of national identity dramatically surfaced in wayang golek performances.

Sundanese wayang golek occupied an important position as an indigenous communication system intersected by the interests of the state and the interests of the people as both struggled to define the meaning of nation, community, and identity. Given the extreme exclusion of most people from the sphere of political process and representation, wayang golek emerged as a possible means for people to secure some vestige of control over public life. In the absence of direct political representation, people could still articulate a will separate from the state by participating in the collective process of defining the nation, as these processes coincided with the realm of culture.

The profound contradiction between the dalang's role as a potential information officer and his impulse to elicit pleasure and enjoyment from his audience emerged as a crucible of social tension between official discourse and popular consciousness. The Janus-faced nature of wayang golek performance prevented dalang from simply being reduced to information officers, insofar as their popularity and appeal rested largely on their ability to represent the voices of ordinary people. Throughout this book, I explore the paradoxical role of dalang in performance, as they mediate official views of the state while retaining a strong identification with popular audiences. It is this play of contradictions that made wayang golek a powerful element of Sundanese popular culture during the New Order regime.

Superstar Dalang

Given the state's clear interest in the development of wayang golek as a cultural institution, the government emerged as an important source of investment capital for wayang golek events. The government's investment in wayang golek performers was not, however, equally distributed among all practicing dalang. Certain dalang tended to receive higher levels of public exposure and circulation. New Order institutions solidified a field of privileged performers, or superstars, who dominated wayang golek performance.

The emergence of a superstar system was connected to the rise of mass media as a dominant force in Indonesian culture and entertainment. I trace the significant development of mass media to the 1970s, when the cassette industry emerged. Although wayang golek had been performed on radio

since the 1930s, cassette production was pivotal for the creation of superstars. The era of mass culture and consumerism contributed to the highly pronounced celebrity and dominance of superstar dalang, whose image and reputation became a matter of commodification and mass circulation. The era of mass culture can be traced to the New Order regime, a regime that depended on foreign investment and capital for a substantial portion of its economic base. Anderson describes the process of foreign capitalist penetration into Indonesia, which began almost immediately after Suharto took power: "multinationals . . . provide the center with sizable, easily accessible revenues (taxes, commissions, etc.). They are ready up to a point to be model taxpayers . . . their executives have neither the interest nor the capacity to pursue political ambitions inside Indonesia. These corporations present no direct political threat to the state, as a powerful Indonesian business class might do" (1990, 113).

The New Order's emphasis on foreign investment was highly consistent with the regime's approach of including various actors in the realm of economics while simultaneously excluding them from the sphere of politics. As Anderson points out, the latter policy led the state to favor multinationals over Indonesian entrepreneurs (*pribumi*). The massive initiative to develop the Indonesian economy through the infusion of foreign capital was closely related to the regime's tendency to guard the concentration of power within a very narrowly defined center. As Anderson straightforwardly asserts, "I would argue that the policy outcomes of the New Order (ca. 1966 to the present) are best understood as maximal expressions of state interests" (1990, 96).

Entertainers were participants in this massive transformation and development of economics and technology in Indonesia. Historian William Frederick writes, "Indonesia's first true entertainment superstars" were produced in the late seventies in *dangdut,* a genre of urban popular music emanating from Jakarta, the capital city of Indonesia (1982, 103). Frederick makes the point that capital (to produce music recordings as well as film), new technology, and mass distribution networks contributed to the development of dangdut superstars: "By 'superstar' I mean not only an important and recognized figure, but one who is clearly significant beyond a relatively small economic or intellectual elite, to a genuinely mass audience.

There have been entertainment 'stars' for many years in Indonesia, but it is only relatively recently that superstars have become a possibility from the point of view of economics and technology" (103n3).

Wayang golek was also shaped by the influx of capital, new communications technology, and new patronage networks. Before the seventies, even the most successful dalang could not survive solely from income earned from wayang golek performance. Most supplemented their income by farming, teaching, or working in various governmental occupations (Soepandi 1984, 90). The creation of a genuinely mass audience is the crux of the difference between stars and superstars. Superstars are able to reach mass audiences through infrastructures of media and communications technology so that their reputations circulate beyond regional boundaries that usually determined the extent of the traditional star's popularity.

Wayang Golek and Mass Media

In a study of central Javanese *wayang kulit,* a related form of Javanese puppet theater, anthropologist Ward Keeler asserts that wayang kulit must be viewed as a set of relationships: "Those relationships are many: they include those among performers, between performers and their sponsors, between sponsors and their guests, etc. Most important of all, however, are the relations between the artistic illusion itself and its audience, and implicit in these links, the relations between artist and spectator" (1987, 17).

This approach raises numerous questions concerning the modern performance practice of wayang kulit, but it also raises the broader issue of identifying the kinds of methods and perspectives necessary to the study of wayang in Indonesia. How are links among various social actors established and crystallized by performance events, theater, and mass media productions? How might the relationships between mass media producers, performers, and audiences of wayang golek be analyzed? For my discussion, I borrow Jody Berland's term "cultural technologies," which describes the "mediated" nature of relationships based on media technologies, economics, and social relations. These relationships are defined by degrees of

access to resources, opportunities, and power (1992, 39). Berland observes that "every new medium introduces a specific relationship, strengthening one type of interaction at the expense of others, and . . . every mediated relationship exists in space and changes its configurations. Like any text, any discursive apparatus, cultural technologies work to set the terms, possibilities, and effects of their negotiations" (41).

While scholars have addressed the impact of such negotiations on the cultural text, still more attention must be given to the nature and production of social relations as they are shaped by technologies that privilege specific configurations and networks of relationships among producers and consumers of cultural texts.[8] In the case of wayang golek, what is the nature, origin, and effect of such cultural technologies, which position participants in specific ways and shape the conditions for the production, consumption, and interpretation of symbolic texts? In shaping the nature of social relations among cultural actors, I contend that cultural technologies similarly influence the sphere of representation that privileges certain cultural texts while submerging or excluding others. While live performance remains a more frequent venue for wayang golek performers and audiences, mass mediation of wayang golek has led to the emergence of new social spaces of interaction among performers, producers, and audiences, which has, in turn, created new artistic approaches, reconfigured social relations, and transformed practices of signification.

Wayang Golek and Popular Culture

Dalang have always had a certain star quality about them. The dalang's role as spiritual leader, ritual specialist, and community advisor places him in a powerful and influential position in Indonesian society. In performance the dalang occupies the dominant position in the troupe: he manipulates all the puppets, delivers practically all the narration and dialogue, sings many of the songs during an all-night performance, and coordinates an ensemble of musicians. His name is displayed prominently on banners at the performance and the very first question a newly arrived spectator asks is, Who

is the dalang? Thus, it is not surprising that certain dalang attained superstar status in Sundanese, Javanese, Balinese, and Banyumasan forms of wayang in New Order Indonesia.[9]

Yet this star quality that dalang seem to have can also exaggerate the individuated or personal power of the dalang and obscure his dependence on audience feedback, during performance, for his popularity. He secures a loyal following precisely by representing the interests of his community and appealing to their desires. Further, the dalang's popularity and star quality do not simply emanate from his personal merits and individual talents. However important his personal style, a dalang must also rely on an extensive social network to bolster his image and popularity, as well as to help produce, promote, and circulate his "product."

The popularity of superstars, in this case, may be understood in a dual sense. First, superstars are exposed to and admired by the greatest number of people, because of the promotional resources that aggregate to them compared to other dalang. Second, they are popular in the sense that their performance practice is constructed not only from above, by the ideological investments of the state and commercial producers, but from below, as dalang continue to attract audiences by appealing to and representing people's desires and aspirations. Taking a cultural studies approach, I examine the cultural production and reception of wayang golek as an intersection of multiple political, economic, and cultural interests. In this sense, wayang golek is viewed, not monolithically as either a site of total resistance from below or total control from above, but as the ground upon which social struggles over cultural authority and representation are played out (see Hall 1981, 228).

Wayang Golek and Entertainment

While Indonesian studies of wayang golek have been highly specific about prescribing the formal qualities essential to the form, and the plot summaries of the basic story repertoire, they have generally excluded discussion of the more nebulous and improvisatory arena of entertainment. Instead, entertainment has become a negative category to signify a lack of adher-

ence to the high standards of performance. I argue that the less easily regulated space of entertainment is precisely something more substantive, something that responds to the material conditions of the contemporary viewing and performance experience. In contrast to studies in which entertainment is seen to be inherently escapist, I view entertainment as a crucial site for representing social issues that preoccupy Sundanese in modern Indonesia.

Discourse about wayang golek within Sundanese intellectual and political circles has contributed to the notion that entertainment erodes the spiritual and ethical function of wayang.[10] The problem with these interpretations is that they rarely specify in precise terms what it is that constitutes entertainment. Rather, entertainment is generally seen as merely the reflection of a rapidly developing Indonesian society.[11] These views tend to portray wayang golek in terms of how modern society has contaminated its pure aesthetic, rather than emphasizing the ways in which wayang golek can play an active role in shaping changing social conditions and people's conception of their place within these conditions. For example, wayang scholar M. A. Salmun reports that even before the sixties the religious function of wayang golek was being displaced by entertainment, a displacement that became alarmingly stark beginning in the fifties (1961, 202). Up to the fifties, however, the shift had been occurring gradually since the *wali* (pious leaders who brought Islam to Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries) had appropriated the form from local storytellers called *jurubharata*.[12] Salmun's account below was written in response to the changes in performance practice in the fifties, particularly the increasing prominence of the sinden: "In the past, it was not the intention of the Wali to eliminate the element of ancestor worship, but it [wayang] gradually changed into a pleasurable diversion. However, nowadays, its character is no different from an entertainment or commonplace amusement, no different from [what is shown at] a movie theater or any other spectacle" (ibid.).

In the sixties Sundanese critics suggested that, because of the growing emphasis on entertainment, audiences could no longer grasp the deeper spiritual meaning of wayang golek. Hence, according to critics, the entertainment aspects of the art—humor, music, and movement—were more easily embraced by audiences. Writing in 1966 in response to an experimental form of wayang golek called *wayang golek moderen,* author Ajip

Rosidi states, "With the change in the character and beliefs of the people, performances have separated themselves from religious ceremony and tended toward performance as entertainment" (1966, 120). In more recent years, politicians and cultural officials have not reacted favorably to a greater emphasis on entertainment either. Tjetje Hidayat Padmadinata, a member of the Indonesian legislative assembly (Dewan Perwakilan Rakyat, DPR) writes that wayang golek performance has become wholly "recreation and spectacle" ("rekreasi sareng atraksi"; 1988). Critic Saini K. M. claims that since independence, wayang golek has changed from ritual to commercial entertainment: "In the past, among farming communities, wayang still maintained a ritual function. . . . After the war, the tastes of the people began to change. The function of wayang also changed. For dalang, wayang began to take on an economic function. To the present day, dalang have sprung up indiscriminately" (quoted in Sumarsono 1987, 28).

Kathy Foley, who wrote the first dissertation in English on wayang golek, contends that the success of a dalang as an educator is based precisely on his ability to entertain. She states correctly that Sundanese audiences are educated in conjunction with entertainment, not in spite of it: "When a performance ceases to be entertaining, it loses its potential to instruct and influence. . . . When a performance is not *ramai* [busy, lively, excited], people soon drift home to sleep. The word will pass that the dalang was mediocre. The family that hired him will gain little status, and he will probably not be invited to play in that area again. A wayang must first be entertaining" (1979, 261).[13]

Like Foley, I situate entertainment in terms of its role in creating the ground from which to secure the attention of audiences and from which to "instruct and influence" them. But more important, I analyze how entertainment performs a crucial function in foregrounding representations, in wayang golek, of the desires, aims, and pleasures of audiences. In thus taking a central place in the communicative intentions of the dalang, entertainment creates a space from which the voices, preferences, and interests of the audience emerge and become represented. In their desire to entertain and to please their audiences, dalang become vehicles for public representations of the people's desires and interests in the realm of culture, even when popular enfranchisement is otherwise repressed in the realms of politics and economics.

Fieldwork

The fieldwork for the present study was conducted during sixteen months in 1994–95 and an additional two months during the summers of 1999 and 2001. In the first eight months of the study I focused my research activities on the popular Sunarya family of dalang who live in Jelekong, a village about twenty kilometers south of Bandung, Indonesia's third most populous city (fig. 0.1). In the early nineties four brothers in this family were active as dalang, and I knew that, by living in Jelekong, I would have ample opportunities to observe and participate in wayang golek performances. I lived at the home of superstar dalang Asep Sunandar, who at the time was enjoying the most success within this family of performers. Living in Jelekong allowed me to participate in the social life of a professional troupe of a dalang as well as musicians, many of whom live in the same area. I was able to accompany the troupe to performances, which occurred in regencies (*kabupaten*) as far west as Pandeglang and as far east as Kuningan (fig. 0.2).

Most of the music and text examples analyzed in this book are taken from performances by Asep Sunandar. I emphasize his performance practice over

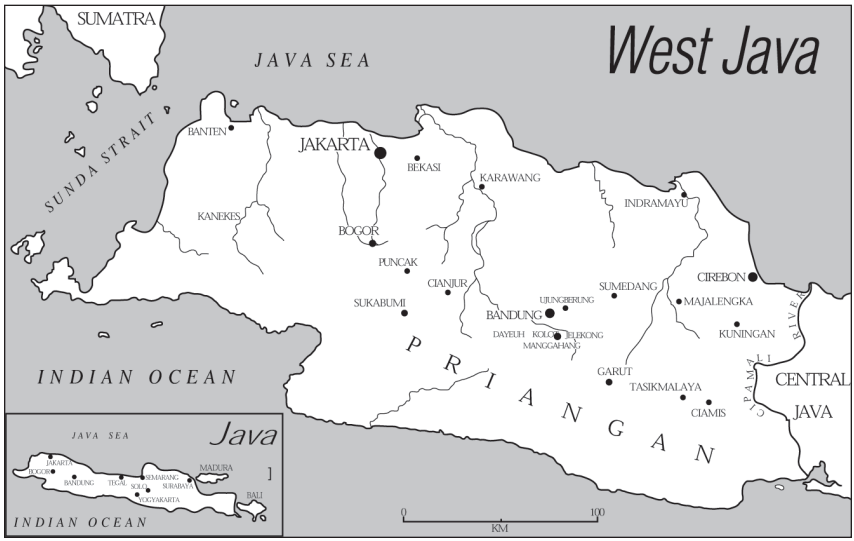


Fig. 0.1. Map of West Java, with insert of the island of Java

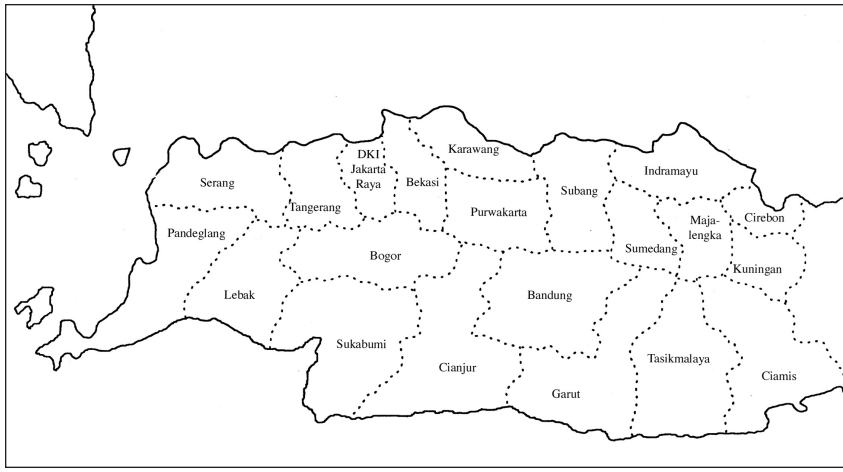


Fig. 0.2. Map of West Java showing kabupaten (regencies)

others not only because I lived at his home and we enjoy a close friendship but because his dominant presence in and privileged access to the public sphere placed him at the center of struggles over the meaning of wayang golek in contemporary Sundanese society. This is not to say that his performance style was better than the other dalang discussed in this book. On the contrary; although he had become the most popular dalang among an entire generation of performers, many aficionados and fellow dalang felt that his performance style was "incorrect," crude, and confusing to watch and that he had sold out. This tension between correctness and popularity was precisely why I chose his performance style—and its place within wider discourses about culture in contemporary Indonesia—as the analytical focus of this book.

During the eight months I lived at Asep Sunandar's home in Jelekong in 1994, there was a constant stream of visitors to the house: family, friends, musicians, neighboring farmers, local government officials, police, journalists, critics, teachers, film and television personalities, university students, fans, healers, masseuses, relatives from distant towns, ex-wives and their children, foreign tourists, ethnographers, and prospective hosts or their representatives. I often conversed at length with visitors, who would have to wait, often several hours, until Asep Sunandar emerged from a day's rest.[14]

Asep Sunandar was an exceptional listener who was always in search of new theatrical material. People told jokes and stories that he would put in the mouths of his comic characters that same night. Government officials brought written materials and brochures about various programs urging people to learn to read, pay their taxes, or practice family planning. Representatives from companies selling cigarettes, motorcycles, and cold medicines all wanted Asep Sunandar to advertise their products. Cassette and television producers came to the house seeking to make a deal with one of the most popular entertainers in West Java. Older dalang and critics complained about the demise of wayang, while younger dalang hoped some of Asep Sunandar's magic would rub off on them. Musicians argued about the proper way to transpose pieces in different tuning systems and, without even an instrument to rehearse, a melodic change would appear in that evening's performance. After Suharto had been forced from power, in May 1998, talk shifted to whatever was in the news that day: the latest scandals, federalism, war, political succession, and the whereabouts of Suharto's fugitive son, Tommy, among other topics.

The house was lively and full of people, as befits the main operational base for a major theatrical company. But in many ways it was a typical Sundanese home. Even when exhausted from an all-night performance, Asep Sunandar always made time to entertain guests, who would be greeted enthusiastically with laughter and food. If he did not know his guests, Asep would play a Sundanese genealogy game called *pancakaki* to establish some sort of relationship with strangers through a common relative or friend. Guests would not leave until they had eaten a full meal. Asep believed that having people around him, both in performance and in everyday life, concentrated his personal power.[15] As one of the superstar dalang of the New Order, he wielded extraordinary economic power as well. Giri Harja III, Asep Sunandar's theater troupe, was a small company that supported forty people and their families: musicians, technical crew, wayang carvers and painters, two drivers, and house staff. In addition, all eleven of his children from five different wives lived at his house for extended periods. People in Jelekong relied on him for advice or assistance. Cash flowed generously from Asep Sunandar to family, friends, and people in Jelekong, where money was in short supply.

The reputation of the Sunarya family of dalang is a source of Sundanese regional pride. To people who live in and around the city of Bandung, and to Sundanese in other areas of West Java, the village of Jelekong is synonymous with the Sunarya family. The family dominates the main road of Jelekong, although other families live there. Asep Sunandar owns the corner home, which straddles the noisy and polluted main road, a truck route leading from Bandung to the neighboring town of Ciparay. It seemed fitting that Asep Sunandar chose to live in the noisiest and busiest spot in the village—his bedroom was actually located on the side of the house nearest the main road leading into the village—because he was the village's focal point of attention and activity.

I relate this description to ground this study in the lived material reality of a superstar dalang. For Asep Sunandar and other superstar performers, wayang golek was a cultural inheritance rooted in Sundanese language, music, and popular consciousness. State and private media institutions cultivated relationships with wayang golek performers, enabling them to achieve mass popularity. Because of their popularity, these dalang became the center of the state's efforts to shape wayang golek into an instrument of national culture. The depiction also illustrates the extraordinary material wealth and status of a superstar dalang, which was made possible by New Order capital.

During the last eight months of fieldwork in 1995, I branched out by tagging along to shows with other dalang, including superstars Ade Kosasih Sunarya, Dede Amung Sutarya, and Tjetjep Supriadi. Although these dalang did not enjoy the same level of celebrity as Asep Sunandar, they were part of a movement to modernize wayang golek through the New Order agencies of mass media and state cultural policy. As I watched these dalang perform, the formulation of wayang golek as a dialogic space—where competing discourses about nation, culture, and representation intersected—emerged as the focus of this book.

Sunda and Bandung

The descriptor Sunda brings into relief the problematic practice of fixing what it means to be Sundanese (Ekadjati 1995, 1–14). In the Sundanese

language, Sunda modifies anything Sundanese: for example, language (*basa Sunda*), people (*urang Sunda*), homeland (*tatar Sunda*), and popular music (*pop Sunda*). However, Sunda has also come to designate imprecisely a geographical region on the island of Java. For example, an album by the famous Sundanese popular singer Detty Kurnia is entitled *Dari Sunda* (From Sunda). For those who think of Sunda as a place, its geographic boundaries usually coincide with West Java (Rosidi et al. 2000, 618). This is understandable, given that most Sundanese who live in Indonesia inhabit the province of West Java, and the province of West Java is predominantly Sundanese. However, not all people in West Java are ethnically Sundanese and whole regions are distinctly non-Sundanese, including Jakarta, parts of the coastal plain to the north (*pasisir*), certain parts of Banten to the far west, and Kanekes, the home of the Badui (fig. 0.1). The so-called heartland of Sundanese culture is the Priangan (or Parahyangan), a highland plateau that traverses the central and southern parts of West Java from the Puncak area (south of Jakarta in the west) to Tasikmalaya in the east. This lush and mountainous agricultural region surrounded by volcanoes was the site for tea plantations and other crops developed by the Netherlands East Indies Company, which relied on a network of kabupaten to oversee the collection of taxes. For some, this region is considered to be Sunda, although Sundanese live in areas outside the Priangan region. Rather than attaching the meaning of Sunda to a geographical location or a fixed set of essentialized cultural traits, I propose a more fluid understanding of Sunda as a set of shifting geographical, historical, and cultural ideas that signify home for the approximately 30 million people who identify themselves as Sundanese.

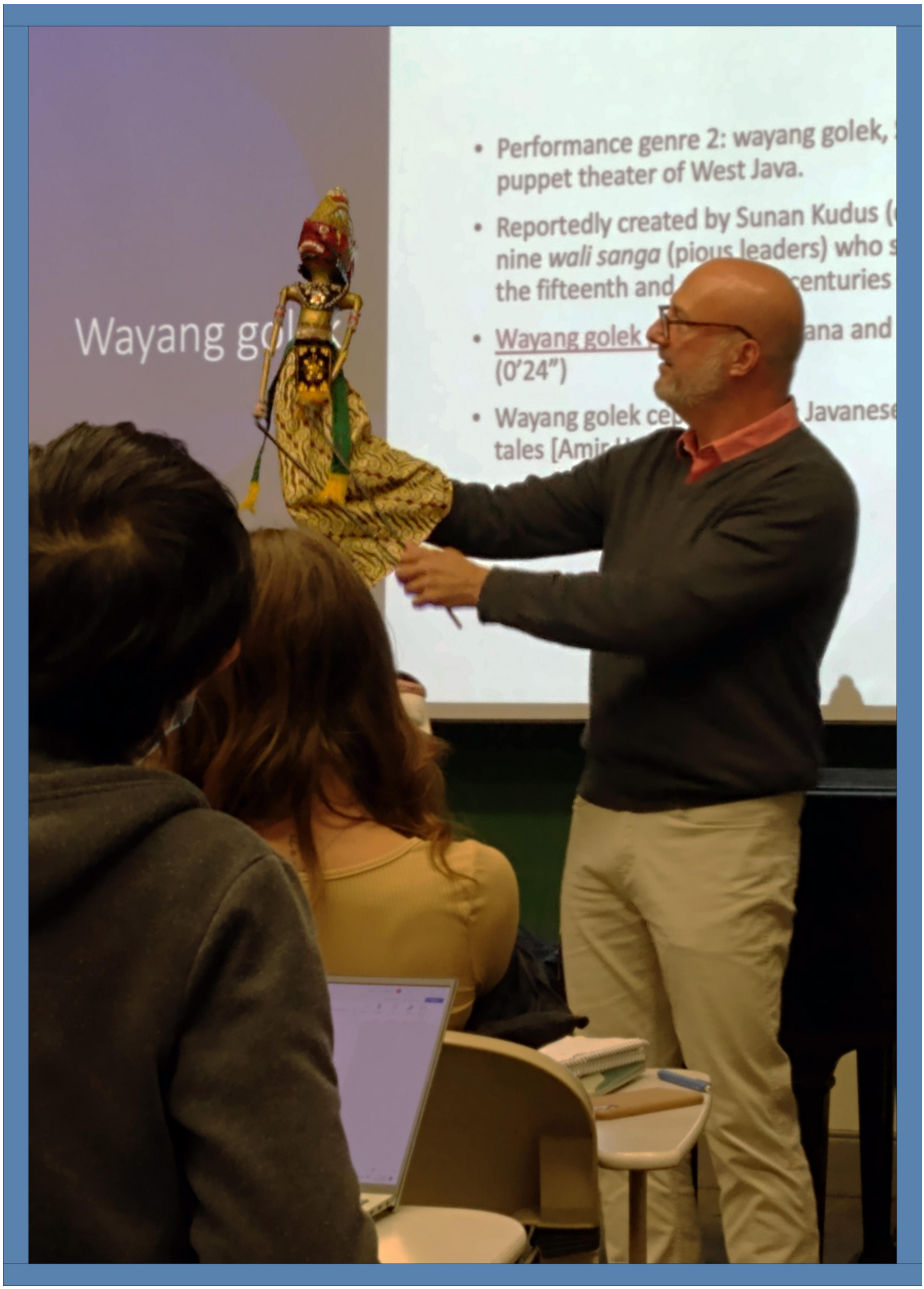
Performers of Sundanese wayang golek belong to a "family of wayang artists" (*warga seni padalangan*), and yet certain regions and regional styles have been more influential than others. Bandung, the administrative capital of the province of West Java, has been the most important city for the development of Sundanese wayang golek.[16] Beginning in the early nineteenth century, a succession of regents in Bandung provided patronage to artists from the north coast region of Tegal to develop wayang golek. From the mid-nineteenth century onward, Bandung became the center of economic, educational, and cultural activity for West Java (S. Williams 2001, 30–33).[17] Bandung-based dalang have historically been more likely to

receive commissions from hosts outside Bandung, whereas dalang in other regions have tended not to play outside their own areas (Surawisastra [Soerawisastra] 1964, 86). Bandung is also the center for the mass mediation of Sundanese wayang golek; there are several music recording studios, publishing presses, branches of the national radio and television stations, as well as private radio stations. As a result, the most influential wayang golek troupes are located in and around Bandung. Since the early seventies, "more and more of the Sundanese dalang study with, and follow the model of, Bandung teachers" (Foley 1979, 26). Most written sources on wayang golek are produced in Bandung, including prescriptive manuals written by performers, popular press articles (newspapers and magazines), and government publications. Also, the main institutions for studying and researching wayang golek are located in Bandung.

The dissemination of wayang golek through mass media has contributed to a relationship of hegemony between Bandung and areas outside Bandung. Artistically, however, artists outside Bandung have exerted a powerful influence on performers based in Bandung. In the sixties Bandung-based dalang adapted a style of dialogue associated with *sandiwara,* a popular theater form in which characters speak with more realistic, as opposed to highly stylized, vocal inflections.[18] Sandiwara took root in Sundanese-speaking areas on the eastern border of West Java including Majalengka, Kuningan, and Indramayu and the Sundanese-speaking areas of Cirebon. Jaipongan, a dance genre rooted in the village dance and drumming styles of Karawang, is another example of an artistic genre that has become tremendously important in wayang golek throughout West Java. A performance of wayang golek normally includes several sections of jaipongan, a genre of dance and music created by Sundanese artists in Bandung in the seventies.[19] While the majority of popular dalang are from Bandung, the musicians and singers come from areas outside Bandung. The musical repertoire and playing style of Bandung troupes thus reflect the regional differentiation of its members.

Part I

The State of Wayang Golek


Performance genre 2: wayang golek,
puppet theater of West Java.
Reportedly created by Sunan Kudus
nine wali sanga (pious leaders) who
the fifteenth and
centuries
Wayang golek
ana and
(0'24")
Wayang golek
Javanese
tales

Chapter 1

DEFINING WAYANG GOLEK

As competing social actors and institutions vied for political legitimacy and representation in New Order Indonesia, wayang golek theater became a "stage" where the struggle for cultural authority was played out. In the New Order, the tools of the wayang golek theater system—puppets, plots, narrative structure, language, music, movement, and voice—were used to construct different social agendas, agendas that subsequently affected the shape of the tools themselves. By examining broader sociohistorical forces that shaped alliances between wayang golek and political and economic institutions in pre–New Order Indonesia,[1] my objective is not to write a history of the art form—a project that requires more extensive archival work and field research—but rather to show that cultural struggles over the meaning of wayang golek were taking place long before the advent of the New Order. (Individual sections in this chapter can be used in conjunction with the accompanying CD-ROM.)

The Emergence of Sundanese Wayang Golek in West Java

Few scholarly sources are available on the history and development of wayang golek.[2] The Sundanese manuscript *Sanghyang Siksa Kandang Karesian,* a moral code dated 1518, indicates that stories (*carita*), including the

Ramayana and the Adiparwa (the first book of the Mahabharata), were recited by *memen* (another term for "dalang") during the early sixteenth century (Danasasmita et al. 1987, 83). However, the manuscript does not indicate the genre (as it does for the epic narrative form called *pantun*), nor does it mention the term *wayang*. Wayang scholar M. A. Salmun (1961, 18) attributes the creation of wayang golek to Sunan Kudus, one of the nine wali (pious leaders) who brought Islam to the island of Java in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. According to Salmun, in 1583, Sunan Kudus created wayang golek, wooden puppets based on a preexisting form of puppets made of buffalo hide (wayang kulit). In this account wayang golek puppets were developed in central Java and then brought to West Java. Salmun, whose sources are not mentioned, states that the form made its way to West Java along the north coast of Cirebon, but does not explain how this process occurred.

Wiryanapura (1977) describes the adaptation of wayang kulit (Javanese hide puppets used to tell stories in the Javanese language) to wayang golek (Sundanese wooden puppets used to tell stories in Sundanese). According to Wiryanapura, wayang golek derives from a small group of dalang from Tegal, a city on the north coast of central Java, who were invited to entertain elite Sundanese audiences in the aristocratic quarters of the *bupati* (regent) in Bandung in the early nineteenth century. Such aristocratic regencies were not only heavily invested in bringing central Javanese cultural forms to West Java but would have had the resources to do so. Ceremonies and entertainment that took place in the kabupaten (regent's quarters) were lavish affairs, especially in the Priangan, where the regents earned extra income from coffee production (Sutherland 1979, 22, 97). Javanese influence was strong, not only in politics and agriculture (wet-rice cultivation), but also literature and the arts (Smail 1964, 6). Sundanese regents patronized the Javanese art of wayang kulit, among other Javanese forms (Heins 1977). The regents arranged for Sundanese dalang to learn wayang kulit in central Java in order to create a related Sundanese form (Surawisastra, pers. comm., 1994).

Dipaguna Permana from Tegal was the first dalang invited to perform for Adipati Wiranatakoesoema II, or Dalem Kaum (r. 1794–1829), the regent of Bandung.[3] Dipaguna performed a style of wayang kulit in which

dalang use puppets of thin buffalo hide to narrate Mahabharata and Ramayana stories in the Tegal dialect of the Javanese language.[4] By the mid-nineteenth century, dalang were spreading this style of wayang kulit performance to the central, northern, and western parts of West Java (Wiryanapura 1977). One of Dipaguna's students named Mayat trained dalang in the northern coastal regions of present-day Purwakarta and Karawang. Ketuwon, another dalang from Tegal, trained dalang in present-day Bogor and Sukabumi.

The next regent of Bandung, Adipati Wiranatakoesoema III, or Karang Anyar (1829–46), invited three more artists from Tegal: Ki Darman (a puppet maker), Ki Rumiang (a dalang), and Ki Surasungging (an instrument maker). According to Wiryanapura (1977), Bupati Karang Anyar wished to watch wayang during the day. He ordered Ki Darman to replace the thin hide puppets, performed only at night, with three-dimensional wooden puppets. Ki Darman began making wayang golek puppets in Cibiru, Ujungberung, a district twelve kilometers east of Bandung that is still renowned for its style of wooden puppet making. Ki Rumiang, who also performed wayang kulit in the Javanese language, became the dalang for Bupati Karang Anyar. During the mid-nineteenth century a student of Rumiang, named Anting, became the first to perform wayang golek in Sundanese. Anting was employed as the dalang for the eighth regent of Bandung, Adipati Wiranatakoesoema IV, or Dalem Bintang (1846–74).

Anting's students, including Suwanda and Surawisastra in Bandung and Bradjanata in Garut, solidified the form in the Priangan region during the late nineteenth century. According to Raden Haji Moehamad Moesa, the late-nineteenth-century aristocrat and poet, each regent had to have an accomplished dalang connected to his regency as a symbol of the regent's power (Lubis 1998, 247).

Outside the regent's quarters, wayang golek served different kinds of audiences. Dalang developed specializations according to the membership of their audiences. For example, the dalang Suwanda and Surawisastra appealed more to common people outside the kabupaten and became known as *dalang rayat* (dalang of the people) whereas Bradjanata, who played for aristocratic audiences in the kabupaten, was called a *dalang menak* (dalang of the aristocrats) (Elan Surawisastra, pers. comm., August 16, 1999). A

generation later, the same contrast was drawn between Suwanda's student Sukatma, who enjoyed popular appeal, and Emon, who played for upper-class audiences in Bandung (Soepandi 1982, 32–41), including Bupati R. A. A. Martanagara, the regent of Bandung (1893–1918). In the early twentieth century, public performances took place more frequently in the growing cities and on the plantations, where dalang played for the entertainment of laborers.[5]

Despite the fact that few people had access to phonographs or radio during the early twentieth century, these forms of electronic reproduction had an impact in expanding wayang golek's audience base outside the kabupaten. The first recording of wayang golek was issued in 1911, and during the early twentieth century, a considerable number of wayang golek 78 rpm disc recordings were issued on several labels, including the Gramophone Company, Odeon, Columbia, Canary, and His Master's Voice.[6] From 1933 to 1936 independent Indonesian radio associations formed in several major urban centers, including Batavia (VORO), Bandung (VORL), Surabaya (CIRVO), Jogjakarta (MAVRO), and Semarang (UNESCO 1964, 5 quoted in Agassi 1969, 54). Bandung-based VORL broadcast wayang golek as early as 1937 (Elan Surawisastra, pers. comm., June 16, 1994) and NIROM (Nederlands-Indische Radio Omroep Maatschappij), the radio network of the Dutch colonial government, broadcast its programs beginning in 1938, sometimes as often as twice a month (Otong Sujana, pers. comm., March 21, 1995). Although few people owned radios, broadcasts were made public through shops and other public locations.

Wayang golek of the 1930s appealed broadly to Sundanese audiences of different classes, races, and political affiliations. Dalang Emon played for aristocratic audiences in Bandung and was a favorite of R. A. A. Wiranatakoesoemah V (referred to as "Dalem Haji," 1920–31; 1935–42). A wayang golek performance for tea plantation laborers, on the other hand, was described as "a popular entertainment for the lower classes" full of "topical jokes and personal allusions . . . a sort of revue" (Kleen 1947, 20–21). Dalang performed for Chinese New Year's celebrations as well as Chinese parties during the Islamic fasting month of Ramadan (Otong Sujana, pers. comm., March 21, 1995). Soepandi reports that Dalang Sukatma Cipatat, a student of Anting, performed in conjunction with a Communist

Party event in Madiun in 1927 (1982, 33). Wayang golek was used to criticize the Dutch colonial regime, which led to heavy censorship and arrests (Elan Surawisastra, pers. comm., June 16, 1994; see also Foley 1979, 244). For example, in a wayang golek performance in 1929, Partasuwanda stressed the innocence of four Pandawa heroes who had been captured by rival forces of Astina (Bas 1954, 16). The four Pandawa characters were clearly an allusion to Sukarno and three of his PNI[7] colleagues, who had been arrested by the Dutch in 1929. Partasuwanda was called in for questioning by the police. These examples indicate wayang golek's expanding base of popularity and patronage among diverse audiences in the early part of the century, as well as its connection, and potential threat, to political and economic centers of power.

The Japanese government, which occupied Indonesia from 1942 to 1945, recognized the power of wayang golek among the Sundanese populace and used it to communicate government messages, especially through radio broadcasts.[8] The function of wayang golek as an instrument of culture to promote the nationalist objectives of the Japanese state represents a kind of prototype for the role that wayang golek was to play in Indonesian state politics after independence. Elan Surawisastra, among other dalang, was compelled to spread Japanese propaganda on the Japanese radio network (Hosokyoku) and in live performances. He spent two years in Jakarta under the auspices of the cultural section of the Japanese government (Keimin Bungka Sidhosa), where his stories stressed emerging nationalist sentiments: "loyalty of deeds, loyalty of heart, and loyalty of material goods for a Japanese victory."[9]

During the Japanese occupation, opportunities to perform were severely curtailed. Performances were shortened to three hours because of curfews requiring people to be inside their homes by midnight. Dalang adapted to these restrictions by creating new forms. R. U. Partasuwanda created *wayang catur,* a performance genre of wayang stories told without puppets for radio broadcasts (Soepandi 1982, 38).[10] The Japanese appropriation of Sundanese theater for propaganda, and the restrictions on performances, did not go uncontested by performers, who found ways to insert veiled criticism into dialogue and songs. For example, Dalang Partasuwanda composed and sang the following lyrics (Bas 1954, 17):

Mobil wadja narik djambal	A tank transports dried fish
Pelesiran ka Tjitjadas	For a picnic in Cicadas
Ganti Radja badju tambal	Leaders change, but clothes get tattered
Pangalaman mahal beas	And rice becomes expensive

Dalang supported the independence struggle against Dutch colonialism (1945–49). The army forged links with dalang and sinden, who were enlisted to present performances to boost troop morale. Performances were sponsored by Uril (*Ur*usan Mor*il*), a division of the West Java Military Command in Bandung, and its staff of six dalang and forty musicians and singers (Brandon 1974, 293–94). Following the Dutch recognition of Indonesian independence in 1949, dalang in Bandung sought ways to discuss issues of mutual concern, to develop solidarity, and to work toward reestablishing their careers as dalang. They formed semiautonomous cultural organizations that were eligible to receive national and provincial government subsidies but were not tied to a government office. The boards of these organizations included dalang, government officials, and cultural experts (*budayawan*). The link between the promotion of nationalist objectives and the promotion of individual careers, a key feature of New Order wayang golek, was forged through the work of these organizations.

The earliest of these organizations was the Union of Sundanese Performing Arts (Ikatan Seni Sunda Indonesia), founded in 1949. In 1954 the Union for the Art of the Dalang in West Java (Persatuan Pedalangan Djawa Barat) was established by Dalang Gunawan Djajakusumah and Dalang M. Suhayaatmadja. Two years later, the same two dalang created another organization that they named the Union of Sundanese Artists of Indonesia (Persatuan Akhli Kesenian Sunda Indonesia). A fourth organization, the Coordinating Body for the Dalang Partnership (Badan Koordinasi Musyawarah Pedalangan), was formed by a separate group of dalang in 1958.

In 1961 these four small groups merged into a larger centralized organization called the Central Wayang Foundation of West Java (Yayasan Pedalangan Pusat Jawa Barat). Its founders included dalang, educators, and officials and its early activities included training courses for dalang, "upgradings," and wayang contests. Government officials used these forums to encourage dalang to disseminate information related to government pro-

grams. James Brandon describes the activities and the political nature of the Yayasan Pedalangan Pusat Jawa Barat:

> The first convention of the Foundation was held in Bandung in February 1964, with some 200 wayang golek performers attending. At the convention it was voted to establish minimum training standards for dalang in the future. Female singers (pesinden) of wayang golek were vigorously condemned, and the major stated aim for instituting a strict licensing system was to shore up the dalang's position vis-à-vis the singer. It is extremely unusual for a voluntary artistic group to attempt to police itself in this way. Enforcement of the new licensing system will rest, not with the Foundation, but with the National Front, a semiofficial government agency which sees to it that private organizations support government policy. The National Front's interest in wayang golek is essentially political: it wants to prevent politically undesirable dalang from performing, and a licensing system would represent an important step in that direction. (1974, 214)

As Brandon points out, one of the major reasons for the creation of the Central Wayang Foundation was to establish the preeminence of the dalang over the sinden, the two dominant performers of the wayang golek troupe (see Weintraub 2004). The organization was reacting to the fact that during the late fifties and early sixties, the sinden's audience appeal tended to eclipse even that of the dalang. As the saying went, "the sinden is accompanied by the dalang, rather than the dalang accompanied by the sinden" (Surawisastra 1964, 81). State agencies injected the didactic and educative themes of national cultural policy while simultaneously attempting to curtail the capacity for performers, particularly the female singers of the troupe, to interact with audiences.

Contests began taking place in 1968 and were subsequently held every two years (see chapter 2). The implementation of the licensing system began in 1968, and it was carried out through the Bandung branch of the state-run radio network (Radio Republik Indonesia, RRI Bandung). Dalang were required to obtain registration cards, which included training in government and law (*tata negara* and *hukum*). Brandon's research also indicates that the formation of a regulatory system to monitor wayang golek was already in place in 1964, at the cusp of the New Order.

Sukarno established the Department of Information in 1945 to disseminate information about the new Republic of Indonesia and to instill feelings of responsibility and patriotism in the hearts of its newly constituted citizens. Messages from the department reached the masses through RRI, which was established on September 11, 1945 (Kementerian Penerangan 1951, 22). At the national level, RRI was administered by the Home Service Division, a division of the Directorate General of Radio, Television, and Film (part of the Department of Information). RRI disseminated development information, aimed to strengthen social integration, and promoted the Five Principles of the state, Pancasila (Susanto 1978, 234).[11] RRI programming at the Bandung station included local as well as national programming.

Sukarno, taking his cue from Japan as well as Russia and China, was aware of the role the arts could play as an instrument for promoting government objectives (Foley 1979, 247–48). Among the performing arts that had the potential to reach masses of people, wayang golek was particularly effective.[12] The form enjoyed a great deal of cultural capital among audiences, who responded to the traditional authority of dalang more than they responded to politicians. The structural features of wayang golek narratives could be easily assimilated to the educational objectives of the state. Wayang golek tales allegorized lessons about law, morals, and behavior. Characters were placed in a hierarchical arrangement to each other. Further, wayang golek relied on a system of patronage, and the state as patron could afford the formidable resources needed to sponsor performances. RRI played a major role in promoting the nationalist ideology through indoctrination (*indoktrinasi*). After Sukarno announced his manifesto of political orientation, or Manipol (*Mani*festo *Pol*itik), in 1959, R. A. Darya, the director of RRI Bandung, stated, "Dalang who follow the program of Manipol during this era have to know and be careful about every word they say, especially if those words concern the national ideology, the ideology of the Indonesian Republic" (BP Jajasan 1964, 9).

Suharto strengthened efforts to merge wayang golek with government media and educational institutions in order to secure support for New Order ideas, meanings, and values. These cultural institutions did not work consistently, efficiently, or without internal conflict. Their programs,

policies, and symbols were continually challenged, resisted, defended, and modified over time. The multidimensional, multisited, and fragmented nature of these apparatuses of culture were part of the shifting ground on which struggles for hegemony were waged (R. Williams 1990, 113). Power was not absolute but hegemonic and therefore had to be won through constant maneuver. When the state attempted to intervene, it was not uniformly successful. New Order meanings and values did not flow in a singular uninterrupted form from government cultural institutions to Sundanese people. Rather, meaning was made in practice through a process of accommodation, negotiation, and resistance. Wayang golek as a medium of communication was at the crossroads of this dialogic process. Throughout the book, I discuss the ways in which performers negotiated the ideas, objectives, and programs promoted by these cultural apparatuses and the effects these negotiations had on wayang golek.

The ideology of the New Order state—capitalist economic development, national integration, the concentration of power in Suharto's Golkar functionary group—was promoted through government, government-affiliated, and private cultural institutions. These institutions often worked hand in hand, making it difficult to disentangle the work of one from that of another. Ethnomusicologist R. Anderson Sutton, reporting on the relationship between music schools, official educational institutions, and private performance clubs in lowland South Sulawesi, states that "the interaction between these different arenas is so constant that a focus on one inevitably involves the others" (2002, 165). The interconnectedness of these institutions allowed government ideology to move rather freely among government and nongovernment institutions.

National government involvement in all forms of wayang in Indonesia intensified after the brutal events of 1965. Under the sponsorship of the army, a new form of wayang golek was created in Kuningan in 1965 called *wayang golek Pancasila,* which took its name from the Indonesian state ideology (Ahudi 1985). The New Order regime invested heavily in dalang as information officers, as indicated by the following report on the tenth annual wayang golek contest: "Padalangan has two fathers. Besides the Minister of Education and Culture, it is also the child of the Minister of Information. . . . 'There is no difference between an information officer and

a dalang,' said the director of the Office of Information for West Java, Drs. Ton Kertapati, 'the only difference is that the information officer receives a salary from the government whereas the dalang does not. Their duties are identical'" ("Pantja Tjuriga" 1972, 4).

The New Order government exerted pressure on wayang golek to incorporate its ideology through the agency of its two "father" institutions: the Department of Information (Departemen Penerangan, Deppen) and the Department of Education and Culture (Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan, Depdikbud). These institutions created opportunities for reaching huge audiences, but also worked to appropriate and control the form. In a 1983 article Elan Surawisastra states, "Nowadays, in the Era of Development, each and every government concept must be addressed. Performing has to be synthesized with Development" (1983, 1–2).

RRI continued to exert a prominent role in sponsoring performances of wayang golek. Preferences for certain programming depended on the region, and wayang golek programming decisions were made at the local level.[13] Programming centered on information, education, and entertainment. As a performance medium that successfully mixed generous doses of information, education, and entertainment, wayang golek broadcasts were found to be among the most popular programs among audiences in West Java, according to audience research studies conducted in 1972 (Susanto 1978, 237) and 1992 (RRI 1992).

RRI Bandung collaborated with government, government-affiliated, and private institutions to sponsor wayang golek performances at the station, which occurred frequently during the New Order. Performers were selected by the nine-member Tim Komisi Siaran Padalangan, RRI (Commission for Wayang Broadcasts, RRI), made up of dalang and members of the Central Wayang Foundation of West Java. Potential performers could apply to the commission individually, but most were selected because they had performed well in the annual wayang golek contest (Binojakrama). The contests were sponsored by national, regional, and local government offices (see chapter 2). In order to be offered an audition by RRI to perform on one of its broadcasts, a dalang had to win a prize in the contest.[14] A favorable audition would theoretically result in a radio broadcast. Many dalang expended considerable resources to perform because of the prestige

that might accrue. However, financial considerations often prohibited dalang from performing. Remuneration was negligible (about 200,000 rupiah, or $100, for the entire group) compared to the high costs of transportation and musicians' fees.[15]

Special performances by famous dalang were broadcast from the RRI Bandung auditorium on an irregular basis. These Saturday night performances were well publicized in advance. Admission was slightly higher than the usual radio performances (1,500 rupiah, $0.75) but the fame of the dalang generally ensured large crowds. Because the rewards were minimal, dalang who performed at these occasions also mentioned the commercial potential of mass-mediated performance, which could lead to professional opportunities elsewhere. One famous dalang cited his obligation to the government radio station as the main reason for performing. He equated refusing an invitation to perform with rejecting the government, which could have serious repercussions for his career. For this select group of dalang, performing on the radio was not only a matter of monetary gain or professional advancement, but not performing meant possible sanctions to careers.

Television broadcasts of wayang golek began during the mid-eighties (see chapter 7).[16] Like RRI, the programming of the national television network consisted of "news, information, educational, and entertainment programs" (Susanto 1978, 244).[17] As an effective medium for disseminating all of the above, it is not surprising that wayang golek was identified as having a significant role to play in television's mission (*misi*) to propagate New Order political messages.

In addition to electronic media, the Department of Information also organized festivals, seminars, and meetings to bring together government officials and wayang golek performers. During the first Indonesian Wayang Festival (Pekan Wayang Indonesia), held in 1969, fifty-nine dalang from Java and Bali (as well as from transmigration sites in Lampung and Medan) were encouraged by government officials to participate in disseminating information about government programs through wayang performance.[18] The Department of Information not only relied on dalang to transmit government messages to the masses, it needed dalang to reach them in areas that other offices could not. At a celebration of the tenth anniversary of Yayasan Pedalangan Jawa Barat, held on March 17, 1971, a

member of the West Java office of the Department of Information stated, "Alongside its function as art, wayang golek functions even more as an information officer . . . through wayang golek all the forms of state and government can be communicated to the people, beginning with urban dwellers all the way to those on the margins, [including] those who cannot be reached by the officers of the Information Office" ("Dalang djeung" 1971, 4).

The New Order government promoted and financially supported special organizations dedicated to the promotion of wayang in Indonesia (Clara van Groenendael 1985, 149). In 1971, under the sponsorship of the Department of Information, the Union for the Art of the Dalang in Indonesia (Persatuan Pedalangan Indonesia, Pepadi) was formed and regional Pepadi headquarters were soon established in each province. On August 13, 1975, the National Secretariat for Wayang (*Se*kretariat *Na*sional Pe*w*ay*ang*an *I*ndonesia, Senawangi) was established. These organizations facilitated the objectives of the Department of Information and attempted to centralize the activities of wayang golek performers. For example, in 1987 the commissioner of the West Java branch of Pepadi proposed a program in which Pepadi would serve as the main booking agent for wayang golek ("Mau Nanggap Wayang?" 1987). Sundanese dalang rejected these plans. Several dalang whom I interviewed felt that Pepadi and Senawangi were overly bureaucratic, Java-centric, and top-down in their approach to culture (see chapter 2).

The second government department that exerted pressure on wayang golek was Depdikbud, which has branches at the provincial, county, regency, and village level. The activities of Depdikbud often overlapped with those of Deppen.[19] During the seventies, Depdikbud also held upgrading sessions (Foley 1979, 254), and cosponsored meetings, festivals, and contests. Whereas Deppen promoted the transmission of information in wayang golek performance, Depdikbud supported organizations that trained dalang in the practical aspects of the art. Under Depdikbud, the two main government educational institutions that influenced wayang golek were the high school–level Conservatory for the Performing Arts (Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia, SMKI), which offers classes in pedalangan,[20] and the Academy for Indonesian Music and Dance (Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia, ASTI).[21] In 1994–95, ASTI did not have a separate wayang program (*jurusan*), but since wayang incorporates theater,

music, and dance, it was thought appropriate to include the study of wayang in the curriculum. While the schools did not produce professional dalang, they did transmit formal practices and ideologies of the art form to younger generations of potential performers, participants, and audiences of wayang golek. Faculty and students also produced scholarly studies (*analisis*), theses (*skripsi*), and reports (*laporan*) about wayang golek (see chapter 2).

Wayang golek underwent radical changes beginning in the early seventies as it was forced to compete against myriad forms of global and local popular culture for the public's attention. Audiences demanded that wayang golek keep pace with these forms or risk becoming extinct. New forms of electronic mediation enabled a few individuals to achieve massive popularity while simultaneously decreasing opportunities for others. As opportunities for most dalang decreased, heightened competition among superstar dalang sped up the rate of innovation as dalang struggled to differentiate themselves from others.

My brief historical survey of wayang golek illustrates that wayang golek had a long history of accommodation and alliance to the government, paving the way for intensification of national government involvement in wayang golek. Regulations and monitoring, administered through the state's educational and official cultural apparatuses, increased during the New Order (see chapter 2).

The Social Setting of Wayang Golek

Most performances of wayang golek are held in conjunction with a ritual feast (*hajat*), where food is served, prayers are recited, and spirits are called to bless the host. The most common type of hajat is a wedding or a circumcision for a young boy. Less common hajat are organized for other life-cycle events, the fulfillment of a vow (*kaul*), and the ritual purification (of a person or place) called a *ruatan*. Ruatan are held for people whose lives are believed to be threatened by the child-eating demon Batara Kala. Individuals born under certain conditions, such as an only child or a child born feet first, must be exorcized by a dalang in order to rid them of future danger. Ruatan are also performed as part of groundbreaking ceremonies for a new building.

In all performances, a host arranges for a raised platform that extends outward from the host's home into an open area in front of the house and adjacent to a road. Invited guests are seated to the front or side of the platform, given food, and asked to contribute money, rice, or other gifts. However, most of the spectators at a performance are uninvited guests who live in the village or in neighboring communities. Uninvited guests are not given food and do not contribute gifts. In this way, an audience consists of Sundanese people of different genders, classes, ages, occupations, and social status.

A typical performance of wayang golek is an all-night affair. The musicians begin playing the overture (tatalu) after people have had time to do the evening Islamic prayer (*isa*), around 7:30 to 8:00 P.M. The dalang and sinden take the stage around 9:00 to 9:30 P.M., and after introductory speeches and announcements, the opening musical piece begins. The performance continues without a break and usually ends before the morning call to prayer (*azan*), around 3:30 to 4:30 the next morning.

The success of an event is based on how noisy and animated (*ramai*) the event becomes. A large and lively crowd enhances the status of the host and more effectively memorializes the celebrated event. In order for an event to achieve a ramai atmosphere, the dalang and his troupe must attract and hold the attention of large audiences by playing to the particular humor and disposition of the crowd. A successful dalang is closely attuned to his audience, whose level of interest he can sense by their movements, response to jokes, and capacity to stay through an all-night performance.

Patronage

Compared to other Sundanese performance genres, wayang golek signals greater prestige because of the relatively elaborate preparations and high cost of the event. Performances are commissioned by a host, which is usually a family or a group of families. The host invites the dalang to perform, arranges for the construction of the stage at a designated performance site, provides seating and food for invited guests as well as space for uninvited guests, and generally ensures that the entire affair runs smoothly. Costs include hiring a large performance troupe (including musicians and

sometimes a technical crew), constructing the large stage, renting and operating a public address system, and preparing food for invited guests, performers, and crew. For hosts, a dalang's reputation is a major factor in deciding which troupe to hire because it is the dalang's reputation that attracts spectators. M. A. Salmun writes, "The number of audience members is not only determined by the elaborateness of the celebration, the weather, and so on, but . . . the quality and the 'name' of the dalang" (1961, 151).

During the New Order, the highest level of prestige accrued to hosts who could afford to hire one of the superstars. Superstars' symbolic capital was so prized that hosts sometimes opted for a different kind of performance rather than hire a lesser-known dalang. If the host can afford it, there may be a *wayang siang,* an afternoon performance, to draw out the festivities and further publicize the event. A wayang siang usually begins around 11 A.M. to noon and ends before the afternoon prayer (*asar*), around 3:30 to 4 P.M. Wayang siang are rather loose and informal, directed by a student or amateur dalang and accompanied, rather casually, by the musicians.

National government commissions for performances of wayang golek rose in frequency and significance during the New Order. Government-sponsored events were commissioned to mark an anniversary of local or national significance or to entertain government workers.[22] Like privately sponsored performances, these events were open to the public and free. Government-sponsored events, which were usually held in large public squares or parks, facilitated the communication of government messages to large crowds of people.

The New Order emphasis on propaganda and national integration created insiders and outsiders in the wayang golek industry. In addition to promotion by regional and national government sponsors, superstar performers received publicity and exposure through networks of patronage formed by local and regional government offices. Government educational, cultural, and military institutions with offices at the district level, for example, commonly hired superstars over local dalang for their performances. Dalang cultivated these kinds of connections. Superstar dalang could afford to hire agents in different towns to help set up performances for functions sponsored by these institutions. Superstar dalang were contracted informally by these

institutions, which hired the same dalang to play for all their events. Patronage limited performance opportunities for nonsuperstar performers, who relied on local sponsors.[23] Not only were performance opportunities narrowed, but actual performances were further constricted by government bureaucracy, administration, and control. In order for a performance to take place, sponsors were required to procure permits from local government, police, and neighborhood administrative bodies. Permits were expensive and often involved considerable staff, facilities, and resources (Suanda 1981, 39).

The Performance Troupe

The Dalang

The dalang is the dominant member of the wayang golek troupe, both within and outside performance. He manipulates all the puppets, delivers the majority of the narration and dialogue, and sings many of the songs during performances. The dalang directs the gamelan ensemble through sound cues that he conveys to the musicians with two instruments: the *campala,* a wooden knocker held in the left hand and rapped against the inside of the puppet chest, and the *kecrek,* a set of metal plates that are suspended from the puppet chest and are struck by the dalang's right foot. The campala and kecrek are used to cue the beginning and ending of musical pieces, to punctuate the dalang's narrative, to play rhythmic patterns during certain musical pieces, and to regulate the tempo of musical pieces.

The dominance of the dalang extends to nonperformance domains as well, specifically to the everyday administration of the troupe. An active dalang has assistants, but the dalang makes all the major decisions for the troupe regarding personnel, scheduling, and remuneration. He usually negotiates with hosts, organizes and directs rehearsals, and is ultimately responsible for ensuring that the troupe arrives at performances on time. The dalang provides counsel or material assistance to members of the troupe, and when personnel problems arise, he resolves them. His considerable capital investment—puppets, gamelan, uniforms (used by the most active troupes), and transportation—is far greater than others.'

The Troupe

A troupe is an economic and social unit that includes musicians and technical crew. Members of the troupe are often related to the dalang or live in close proximity. Most dalang do not perform frequently enough to have their own troupe but simply gather musicians and crew together when a commission arrives. One of the consequences of the rise of superstar dalang is that they all have their own troupes. Although touring takes a physical toll on musicians in popular troupes, regular employment as a professional wayang golek musician is rare and highly valued. As a result, personnel for the superstar troupes does not change significantly with time. However, certain musicians may find work elsewhere, particularly in rival troupes.

Musicians include male instrumentalists, one or more female singers, and a male singer. The number of musicians varies, depending on the number of instruments and the ability and willingness of the dalang to provide remuneration to everyone involved. Remuneration depends on the role the musician plays in performance. The sinden earns the most of any member of the troupe, and sometimes commands a higher fee than the dalang.[24] Female singers entertain audiences by singing popular songs, moving their bodies, and sometimes dancing on stage. The *rebab* (two-stringed spike fiddle) player, the melodic leader of the ensemble, and the *kendang* player (drummer), who is responsible for transmitting instructions from the dalang to the musicians through an elaborate system of sound cues, receive the next highest amount, followed by the *juru alok* (male singer). Remuneration for players of the remaining instruments is about the same, although musicians who play *gambang* (xylophone) and *saron 1* (a metal-keyed instrument) may receive more, because of their leadership role in certain parts of the performance. All musicians are expected to contribute commentary, laughter, and noise to create a lively atmosphere.

Although performance opportunities for the majority of dalang decreased during the New Order, opportunities for superstars increased, which allowed them to perform steadily. The busiest months for sponsoring a hajat were Sawal, Hapit, and Rayagung—the months following Ramadan, the Islamic fasting month. For popular wayang golek troupes, those months were almost completely booked and troupes performed almost every night of

the month. In all other months, the most popular troupes performed ten to fifteen times, except during Ramadan, when no hajat were held.[25]

Language

Wayang golek incorporates many different languages: *basa Sunda* (Sundanese), *basa Jawa* (Javanese), *bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian), and words borrowed from Dutch, Japanese, and English. Wayang golek preserves an archaic style of language called *Kawi Sunda*. Kawi Sunda contains a multilingual vocabulary drawn from Sanskritized old Javanese (a language called Kawi, but not to be confused with Sundanese Kawi), middle Javanese, the Cirebon-Tegal dialect of Javanese, and Sundanese (Foley 1979, 183). Kawi Sunda is preserved in poetic passages accompanied by music (*kakawen*), as well as in narrative description and spoken phrases.

The main language used in dialogue sections is Sundanese, a language comprising different speech levels that indicate status between speakers. The dalang uses basically three different speech levels, defined by different vocabulary sets: *kasar*, *sedeng*, and *lemes*. Kasar is used to address characters of lower status or among lower-status characters on familiar terms with one another. Sedeng is used by characters to refer to themselves when speaking to higher-status characters, or to lower-status characters with whom they are not familiar. Lemes is used to address characters of a more exalted social status, or to older characters, or to characters just meeting each other for the first time.

Efforts to nationalize the language of regional forms of wayang coincided with the advent of the New Order. At the First Indonesian Wayang Festival (Pekan Wayang Indonesia), in 1969, Budiarjo, the minister of information and chairman of the national wayang organization Senawangi, urged Sundanese dalang to perform in bahasa Indonesia (Kost n.d., 3). RRI and TVRI, the national radio and television networks, promoted this effort, but it received little support from dalang or audiences. Dalang felt the language compromised the artistic value of wayang golek, and they felt "stiff" performing. Efforts continued at the Second Indonesian Wayang Festival, in 1978, when the committee invited writers to submit manu-

scripts of wayang stories in Indonesian. These efforts to control the language and meaning of wayang continued throughout the New Order but were never taken up with much seriousness. Negotiation, accommodation, and resistance to the use of the Indonesian language in performance are central to the art of the dalang, a topic discussed throughout this book.

Puppets

A puppet consists of nine parts: the head, the body, four parts that make up the articulated arms, two sticks attached to the hands, and a central rod that extends through the puppet's skirt and into the puppet's head. Although a dalang's puppet box (*ḳotak wayang*) may hold ninety to one hundred twenty puppets, only about sixty are typically used in a performance. Most puppets range from forty to seventy-five centimeters (15 to 30 inches) in height. All dalang are capable carvers, but certain makers excel at the art. Expert carvers shape puppet faces and headdresses from soft, lightweight wood, without predrawn lines or tracings. After the head, body, and arms have been carved, they are treated and painted. The costumes are sewn and beaded by family members. Costumes are made of velvet, colored fabric, sequins, colored plastic beads, and batik cloth.[26]

Water buffalo hide is used for certain puppets, including the mountain-shaped kayon (also called *gunungan*), which is "danced" at the beginning of each performance, and may also serve as a bed, throne, or scene divider. The kayon shows a pair of ogres and a winged gate guarding a tree growing in a pool of water. The tree's branches hold all the animals of the forest, representing a "tree of life." Separate puppets representing animals and weapons are also made from carved water buffalo hide and attached to thin wooden sticks.

Character Types

Puppets can be categorized into character types, which relate to puppets' status and temperament. Foley has identified four main types of wayang golek characters (1979):

Refined characters may be either very cultivated (*lungguh*) or proud (*ladak*).This group of characters includes knights (*satria*), ladies (*putri*), and some gods (*dewa*).

Strong characters may be either brave warriors (*punggawa*) or emotionally uncontrolled demons (*angkara-murka*). In addition to warriors, this group includes some gods (*dewa*), monkeys (*wanara*), and kings (*prabu*).

Special characters, including clown servants (*panakawan*), do not follow the conventions of type. They are unique and cannot be substituted by or for other puppets. Although the panakawan did not belong to the Hindu epics brought from India, they have become essential to Sundanese wayang golek.

Ogres (*buta*) appear in a variety of physical manifestations. Except for a few cases, their forms are not fixed like the other three character groups. Instead, puppet makers apply a vocabulary of features to identify ogres. Buta generally have the largest bodies, biggest eyes, largest fangs, biggest noses, most striking colors, and most grotesque expressions of any of the character types.

Some puppets represent a specific character, while others are interchangeable—that is, one puppet may represent different characters in various performances. Iconographic markers of the body and face—including body size, head angle, facial features, and color—provide clues that enable the audience to identify the character type. Additional iconographic elements identifying character types include headdress, shoulder posture, body shape, and clothing (including jewelry). Figure 1.1, based on private lessons, as well as Foley 1979 and Soepandi 1988c, shows the iconographic features of main character types.

Another way that audiences identify character types is through their dance and movement patterns. Wayang golek draws from a vocabulary of Sundanese dance and movement patterns including their manner of stepping (walk) and arm gestures. Voice quality and intonation are further specified for the first two groups of character types, but not for clowns and ogres (fig. 1.2).

Character type	Body size	Angle of head	Facial features			Color of face
			Eyes	Nose	Mouth/teeth	
Refined (satria lungguh)	small	downward	narrow	long narrow	small, narrow/unexposed	pale
Refined (satria ladak)	small	forward	narrow	long narrow	small, narrow/unexposed	pale, pink
Strong (punggawa)	large	level	bulging	large	large/exposed fangs	pink/light red, blue
Strong (angkara-murka)	large	upward	bulging	large	large/exposed fangs	dark red
Special (Semar)	small	level	half-closed	medium	one tooth exposed	white
Special (Dawala)	small	level	bulging	long	one tooth exposed	peach
Special (Cepot)	small	level	bulging	small	one tooth exposed	dark red
Ogres (buta)	large	upward	bulging	large	fangs	anything goes

Fig. 1.1. Iconographic features of main character types

Character type	Walk	Dance movement	Arm position	Nondance movement	Voice
Refined (satria lungguh)	slow tempo	slow	to solar plexus	slow, smooth	low, slow, even tones
Refined (satria ladak)	medium tempo	sharp	to shoulder level	brisk yet graceful	high, strained
Strong (punggawa)	wide step	forceful	high	abrupt	deep, gruff
Strong (angkara-murka)	wide step	rough	high	erratic	deep, gruff
Special (panakawan)	unique	free	free	unique	unique
Ogres (buta)	free	free	free	free	free

Fig. 1.2. Movement and voice for main character types

During the seventies Dalang A. Sunarya introduced spectacular new puppet designs. These puppets had bulbous heads, warts and pockmarks, and mismatched facial features. These changes in the material culture of wayang golek reflected the availability of new resources and responded to spectators' desire for change. Puppet heads might be covered in fur, and they were dressed in outrageous costumes of clashing colors. The proliferation of puppets displayed Sunarya's economic prosperity and became a mark of cultural distinction in the competitive field of wayang golek.

In the eighties, Sunarya's sons responded to competition with forms of mass mediated popular culture from abroad by creating new puppets that could emulate the spectacular fight scenes they had seen in martial arts films, television shows, and cartoons. These innovations were limited to clown and ogre puppets, whose features are not fixed, while characters with fixed features remained relatively unchanged.[27] Several important innovations in puppet design and construction were introduced during the eighties. Automobile paint was used because it was available in a wide variety of colors and appeared shiny under the bright fluorescent lights that began to illuminate wayang golek performances. Puppet makers created new designs featuring smaller individuated parts that could be attached to each other by rubber bands, hinges, and string. Puppet heads could now be moved up and down instead of merely from side to side, and the limbs and hands were commonly articulated. Other innovations included puppets that vomit noodles, spit blood, and have additional moving parts, including gyrating heads and tongues that move in and out. These innovations made puppets appear to be more flexible and lifelike.

Lakon: Repertoire and Structure

The repertoire and performance structure of story episodes (*lakon*) were important areas of change in wayang golek of the New Order. A lakon refers to the plot, the arrangement of scenes, and particular elements that constitute the performance of those scenes. The lakon repertoire may be classified into two types: *lakon galur* and *lakon carangan* (also called *karangan* or *sempalan*). Lakon galur come from written sources and the plot

and arrangement of scenes are set. All dalang should know the galur repertoire. Lakon carangan are new creations, based on a body of accepted "facts" or data concerning the characters that appear in a play. Carangan stories are related to galur stories but are not as widely shared. A tree metaphor is often used to describe the relationship between galur and carangan: galur stories are the trunk from which carangan stories branch. Further, the narrative and musical content of scenes in lakon galur are relatively fixed in comparison to lakon carangan because there are set events and sometimes set musical pieces prescribed by tradition.

Kathy Foley (1979, 104–8) has classified the plots of the wayang golek repertoire into ten patterns, which I have summarized as follows:

A human sacrifice is required to achieve some end or to cure a plague.

A woman, usually a princess, falls in love with a man she has seen only in her dreams. She will marry no other and pines away until her father brings home the loved one.

A murdered individual returns to life in a different form and exacts revenge on the killer(s).

A marriage contest is held. The suitor who is successful in carrying out the terms of the contest wins the maid.

Someone assumes another's identity and makes mischief. After much misunderstanding, the imposter is exposed and returned to his or her true shape.

A magical heirloom or piece of jewelry is missing. Confusion reigns until it is found. Most often the object has become a person.

A young person seeks an absent father.

An individual, usually an ogre king, covets and kidnaps another man's wife.

Various parties vie to acquire a powerful grace or auspicious object that has been sent down into the world by the gods.

Heaven is besieged by a powerful warrior. The gods are not strong enough to defeat the invader and seek the help of a hero.

Although a close examination of the lakon repertoire is outside the scope of this book, three patterns emerged in the New Order. First, lakon carangan were more frequently performed than lakon galur. Dalang preferred the more open-ended and improvisatory plotlines of lakon carangan, which did not necessarily have to be resolved by the end of an evening's performance. Plots for lakon carangan were often secondary to other elements of performance (e.g., jokes, music, battle scenes, dance), and hosts and audiences usually preferred these elements to the dramatic interest of a good plot. In addition, plots for lakon galur were perceived to constrain dalang, who were obliged to tell the entire tale within the time frame of an evening's performance.

Second, lakon (both galur and carangan) based on the Mahabharata were more frequently played compared to the Ramayana, the other main story source. The episodes of the Mahabharata could be more easily assimilated to matters of state (*tata negara*), political struggle, and sacrifice. Lakon from the Mahabharata that could be used to reflect favorably on government development programs formed the second area of focus.

The third trend pertains to the creation of new lakon carangan, which focused on clowns as heroes (Foley 1985). Lakon with clowns as the main character were used to represent the interests of common people. For example, in the lakon *Astrajingga Gugat* (Astrajingga stakes his claim), Astrajingga (also called Cepot) stakes his claim to the earth, which is controlled by Batara Guru, the High God of the Universe. Cepot feels he has the right to rule because his father is Semar, Batara Guru's older brother. Cepot, representing the people, challenges Batara Guru (symbolizing the government) and demands his right to rule.

It could be misleading, however, to make close correlations between shifts in the lakon repertoire and changes in Sundanese society. While dalang often discuss *the* underlying meaning of individual lakon, they readily admit that meanings are multiple and contextual; that is, spectators will interpret the same lakon differently, and these interpretations depend on when and where performances take place. More important perhaps than the individual plotline are the ways in which the performance enables the dalang to reflect on social, economic, and political conditions that preoccupy Sundanese in specific social settings. In this sense, performance must be understood as a dialogue with actual historical events and social

conditions rather than a reflection of fixed social reality. As Dalang Sapaa't Suwanda explained, it was more important to focus on what was possible to say using the stories as a frame rather than on the meaning of individual lakon (pers. comm., 1994).

The performance structure of story episodes, or the "lakon structure," underwent significant transformations in New Order Indonesia. The lakon structure describes the way a plot becomes a performance. Every lakon is composed of three essential parts: introduction and statement of conflict ending in a crisis; reflections on social conflict and entertainment; and resolution. These three sections are elaborated further into scenes, and this structure of parts and scenes can be applied to any lakon. Dalang Surawisastra (b. 1916) has outlined a schema comprising ten scenes (1983, 1–2). These ten scenes correspond to the three parts of the lakon structure: scenes 1 through 5 explore the problem, culminating in a conflict; scene 6 brings social conflict into focus and entertains the audience through comedy and song; and scenes 7 through 10 lead to the resolution of the problem. Each scene corresponds to a stage of life (indicated in square brackets):

> Scene 1: Karatonan (First audience scene in the palace)
>
> The dalang recites the *murwa,* an invocation of gods, spirits, ancestors, and Allah. The king receives his minister, who delivers news of the kingdom.
>
> [A baby is going to be born and blessings are requested for a long and prosperous life.]

> Scene 2: Pasebanan (Audience scene outside the palace)
>
> The army gathers by order of the king. The dalang has to be skillful in differentiating each character, through their manner of stepping, movement, and dance choreography.
>
> [The baby comes out of the womb and everyone brings gifts of food to the family.]

> Scene 3: Perang Gagal (Crossroads)
>
> A character does battle with the army, who cannot defeat him.

[The child loves to play but does not know right from wrong, although everyone tries to teach him.]

Scene 4: Pringgandani (Gatotkaca's kingdom)[28]

The queen instructs her son Gatotkaca. The dalang describes the characteristics of a knight.

[Mother and Father instruct their child to study and to become a good person for the nation (*nusa*), people (*bangsa*), and religion (*agama*).]

Scene 5

Gatotkaca offends a warrior and they fight.[29]

[In one's search for knowledge, there are always obstacles that have to be overcome.]

Scene 6: Tumaritis (the home of Semar and his sons)

The dalang entertains the audience with jokes and informs the audience about the plans of the government.

[Young people like to have a good time.]

Scene 7: Panditaan (A hermitage)

A priest gives advice to his student. The narrative focuses on humanity.

[At middle age, a person is already formed. S/he knows the difference between right and wrong and performs righteous deeds.]

Scene 8: Begalan (Obstacle)

A knight accompanied by the clown servants in the forest encounters ogres who tempt them into battle. The ogres are defeated and the knight is on his way.

[No matter how strong one's knowledge and spiritual training, there are always temptations to steer one off the path of righteousness.]

Scene 9

A knight intends to increase his strength but ends up in trouble.[30]

[One never knows the difficulties encountered in leading a spiritual life.]

Scene 10: Perang Barubuh (Battle)

The Pandawa brothers are challenged by their enemies. The enemies are swept away by Bima with the help of the God of Wind.

[The hour of death has arrived.]

While there is a standard arrangement of scenes for every lakon, each dalang composes these scenes differently, based on what he learned from his teacher, as well as his own individual style and the exigencies of performance. Within the lakon structure, the same dalang performing the same story on two different occasions may add, eliminate, or replace musical or dramatic elements (or both) within scenes. These decisions are influenced by the constraints of time, the wishes of the host and the audience, and the motivations of the dalang. For example, a dalang may choose to tell parts of the story using narration (*nyandra*) rather than dialogue, or he may emphasize the musical component by including more songs (*lagu kawih*) and sung poetry (kakawen).

It was in the middle section, represented above by scene 6, that the most intensive activities of change took place during the New Order. This nonnarrative section features the clowns and female singers, who, previous to the New Order, were not supposed to be too prominent, too popular, or too visible (Salmun 1961). But this is precisely what happened. The role of the clowns expanded to such a high degree that dalang would simply use the structure of the lakon as a pretense for bringing out the clowns, who would dominate the rest of the evening's entertainment. Clowns soon began coming out earlier in the night's performance and making appearances in multiple scenes, rather than being confined only to the middle section. During the late eighties, and stimulated by cassette recordings and television programs that revolved around this section of performance, clown characters became synonymous with the genre of wayang golek. Edie Sufyan, director of the Education and Culture Office in Bandung, lamented that "younger spectators nowadays only know the panakawan, especially Cepot" (in Abas 1988). Entertainment and pleasure became a powerful forum for addressing social conflict (see chapters 4 and 7).

In addition to the rise in the status of the clowns, the sinden also featured more prominently in the middle section of the lakon structure. The

sinden's role changed during the fifties, when audiences demanded that sinden play a greater role in performance (Weintraub 2004). Crowds in villages and urban areas came to wayang golek performances to hear and see particular singers, who eventually became even more crucial to the pacing and flow of performance than the dalang. Wayang performances became a place where people could request songs and dance onstage. The period of the sinden was apparently over in 1964, after a government-sponsored organization developed a "code of ethics" that prohibited singers from being too visible and active on stage. However, dalang recognized the power of sinden to draw large crowds, and dalang and sinden continued to share the spotlight even after this prohibition. As a result, female singers, who had gained prominence before the advent of the New Order, were granted long sections for their featured songs within the structure of performance. Although perhaps not as blatantly in control of the pace and flow of performance, singers still danced on stage, took song requests, and flirted with men in the audience.

Because of its ability to attract masses of people within a variety of settings—including family rituals, national celebrations, educational events, and commercial entertainment—wayang golek was able to build up tremendous symbolic capital and cultural authority among Sundanese of West Java. My brief historical survey of wayang golek illustrates that wayang golek had a long history of accommodation to Sundanese centers of administrative power during the Dutch and Japanese periods, paving the way for intensification of national government involvement in wayang golek after independence. During the New Order, dalang transformed the aesthetic principles, narrative construction, and material culture of performance in response to changing audience tastes and expectations. The fact that wayang golek could reach the popular imagination, in ways that the state could not, sustained its audience's interest and enjoyment and presented a challenge to New Order political institutions. As a result, regulations and monitoring of wayang golek, administered through the state's educational and official cultural apparatuses, increased during the New Order.

Chapter 2

CULTURAL POLICY AND CANONS OF PERFORMANCE

In a 1986 newspaper article entitled "Sundanese Wayang Golek as a Zombie" ("Wayang Golek Sunda Sebagai Zombie"), poet, educator, and critic Saini K. M. characterized wayang golek as a zombie.[1] Kidnapped and given a magic potion, a zombie becomes "stupid, indolent, and spiritless" ("tolol, lamban dan tidak bersemangat"), easily manipulated, and no different from a "living corpse" ("mayat hidup"). Saini K. M., who would later become the director of the college-level music school in Bandung (ASTI), argued that wayang golek was moving away from its true function as art (*seni*) embedded with spiritual values (*nilai-nilai rohani*) toward pure entertainment (*hiburan semata*). As wayang golek became more competitive with other popular entertainment genres, dalang were forced to conform to the desires and expectations of a new market of popular audiences. Further, it was the conflict that Saini saw between *pakem,* the artistic standards of performance, and *komunikasi,* communication between the dalang and his audience, that had shifted the function of wayang golek from art and ritual to entertainment: "To hold onto the pakem, which maintain spiritual values in performance, means a loss of communication with spectators; however, to accommodate oneself to audience taste may cause a loss of spiritual values in performance and [as a result] wayang becomes pure entertainment" (Saini K. M. 1986).

The "zombie" controversy was still very much alive during my fieldwork (1994–95). It came up especially often in discussions about the Giri Harja style, and in fact Asep Sunandar was the only dalang mentioned in Saini's article. In one performance I viewed in 1994, Asep Sunandar cleverly inverted the criticism by jokingly referring to one of his oversized, deformed, beastly-looking ogre characters as a zombie. The topic circulated so widely that wayang golek aficionados and fans knew about the debate even though they had never read the original article.

The zombie controversy exemplifies the struggle over cultural authority in wayang golek during the New Order. Why were cultural critics so inclined to criticize performance practices that were so profoundly compelling, communicative, and enjoyable to audiences? I argue that these divergences exemplify the tension between performance and reception on the one hand and New Order discourses of culture on the other. The regulation and monitoring of wayang golek involved a wide range of educational, media, and cultural institutions. Official and educational apparatuses associated with wayang golek in the New Order gave rise to influential debates concerning performance practice. The type of performance circumscribed by these institutions, however, diverged widely from actual practice. While the leading dalang were cultivated as information officers to communicate the ideology and objectives of state programs, they were also subject to the most severe criticism for transgressing correct principles of performance. This tension was played out in sites where the set principles of performance were used as evaluative criteria for judging contemporary practice—including contests, scholarly studies, and journalistic articles.

Pakem and Tetekon

Pakem and *tetekon* are defined as the set principles or rules of performance, which may be written or orally transmitted.[2] *Pakem* generally pertains to story and characters (the artistic principles), whereas *tetekon* pertains to performance practice. A substantial body of literature pertaining to pakem and tetekon currently exists, produced primarily for cultural organizations,

educational institutions, and the popular press. The role of pakem and tetekon and their application as evaluative criteria for performance reveal the effects of official cultural apparatuses in relation to wayang golek.

Pakem are generally defined as literary documentations of wayang texts. In Javanese wayang kulit, a form that historically predates Sundanese wayang golek, there is a long history of pakem.[3] The most famous examples were written in modern Javanese during the nineteenth century by Dutch-educated Javanese intellectuals. In the earliest examples, there are two types of written documentation, pakem and *lakon.* Pakem give summaries of selected stories, while the more detailed lakon texts include standardized dialogue between characters in a story. During the past hundred years, pakem and lakon texts have included information about performance practice by documenting extended dialogue sections, musical notation, texts for *suluk* (mood songs), and performance instructions for puppet movement and musical cues. These texts are not simply descriptive in nature but in fact have exerted a strong normative influence over highly diverse modes of performance practice (Sears 1996, 175).

For Sundanese wayang golek, Foley uses the term *pakem* in a more fluid sense. She defines *pakem* as the "reservoir of plot material and data concerning characters that has been set by Sundanese tradition" (1979, 94). A dalang uses two elements to create lakon: pakem and mythic patterns or "formulae for plots" (103). Events are presented through the lakon structure, which includes conventional musical, narrative, and dramatic elements (110–14). Unique performances of a story evolve through a flexible treatment of these structural constraints. Improvisation within constraints involves music, movement, and language, creating individual pakem for each aspect of the theatrical system (143).

In Sundanese wayang golek there is a disjunctive relationship between actual theatrical and musical practices and scholarly theories that account for them. Indigenous Sundanese scholarship has contributed greatly to the public perception of wayang golek and it is useful to review the main sources here. In the following section I discuss the work of the two most important Sundanese authors of works dealing with pakem and tetekon, scholar M. A. Salmun (1903–72) and dalang R. U. Partasuwanda (1904–66).

Partasuwanda's more descriptive approach contrasts with Salmun's prescriptive approach, which became the model for constructing educational policy on wayang golek in the New Order.

M. A. Salmun

M. A. Salmun was a prolific writer, poet, translator, editor, and educator. Using his own name, as well as the pen names Hayati, Ki Mulsaman, and Asmalasuta, Salmun created numerous lakon carangan that were published in Sundanese newspapers and magazines in the fifties and sixties. His main scholarly works concerning wayang golek are the *Mahabharata karangan Wyasa* (Wyasa's Mahabharata) (1955), in which portions of the Hindu epic are written in *wawacan,* or metered poetry, and *Padalangan* (1961).[4]

Padalangan

Padalangan has become a standard reference text for scholars of wayang golek. The term *padalangan* refers to the nature of being a dalang, which includes knowledge of all aspects of performance including "singing, dancing, speaking, playing musical instruments, history, telling jokes, and creating stories" (Salmun 1961, 186). The book is a compilation of knowledge that focuses on the history of wayang golek, its story repertoire, and the basic practical components of its theatrical system. Salmun's work relies heavily on Javanese and Dutch scholarly sources, which were available to him through the national publishing company (Balai Pustaka) and the national museum (Gedung Gajah) in Jakarta.[5] One can see the influence of Javanese scholars on Salmun by looking at chapter 6 of *Padalangan,* entitled "Requirements and Taboos" (*Kamistian djeung Larangan*) (188–200), in which Salmun describes Sundanese wayang golek performance, using Javanese terms to outline specific aesthetic and stylistic demands that dalang must fulfill as wayang golek performers.[6] I have summarized the main points for each category:

Requirements:

antawatjana: differentiate accent (*lentong*), style of speaking (*lagam*) and voice (*sora*), appropriate to particular character types.

renggep: maintain a high degree of energy and enthusiasm while performing.

enges: "arouse the feelings"; spectators should feel the mood portrayed by a character.

tutug: do not leave anything out of a story.

banyol: make jokes, but not in certain situations, and not too many. Jokes must always be appropriate to a character, and anomalies are discouraged.[7]

sabet: introduce puppets from appropriate sides; in scenes with more than one puppet, each must be positioned correctly in relation to the others.

kawi-radya: correctly introduce and describe the attributes of the king and his court, especially in the opening scene of a performance, according to the Kawi language.

parama Kawi: know the Kawi language, especially derivations of names based on dividing a word into individual syllables and defining the syllables.

amardi-basa: understand the rules for using different language levels that function according to social status and age.

parama-sastra: know the historical and legendary aspects of events described in the wayang repertoire.

awicarita: know the stories and wayang characters.

amardawa-lagu: know the music.

Taboos:

do not look inappropriate; one's clothes must be neat.

do not change the story from the way it is prescribed in the pakem.[8]

do not favor one character over another.

do not leave the stage during a performance.

do not make comments directly to spectators.

do not make obscene jokes.

Salmun's taboos encourage an atmosphere of formality and order that was intended to create distance between performers and spectators. The neat physical appearance of performers contrasts with the informality of most spectators at a family-sponsored event. Dalang were discouraged from being overly responsive to the desires of spectators, who may wish the dalang to emphasize certain characters, elaborate certain themes, or elongate certain scenes. Communicating directly with spectators or making obscene jokes were prohibited because these practices would increase audience participation. By decreasing audience participation, however, wayang golek would increase its potential to be didactic and authoritarian.

Salmun's written works were intended to make Sundanese performances conform to nineteenth-century Javanese standards of performance. For example, Salmun prescribes Javanese terms and examples of song texts even though the Sundanese terms and texts are available. Salmun uses the Javanese term *suluk* (mood songs) rather than the Sundanese term *kakawen*.[9] While kakawen texts were transmitted orally to Sundanese dalang from central Javanese and Cirebonese sources, these "correct" Javanese versions belie the fact that, musically and textually, kakawen had taken on a distinct Sundanese identity. The modal nature of these songs, and the texts for the opening invocation, are two prime examples of Salmun's vision of correctness.

What's in a Name? Patet and Murwa

Salmun's examples of suluk are classified according to *patet,* a Javanese modal classification.[10] By using the terminology of Javanese wayang kulit, Salmun implies that performances of Sundanese wayang golek are organized in a similar manner. However, even during the period *Padalangan* was

written, the idea that patet was historically an organizing principle of Sundanese wayang golek performance is highly debatable. Eutik Muchtar, a famous rebab player and gamelan composer, notes that the patet system was intact until the mid-fifties, during the "sinden era" (*jaman sinden*), when sinden began accepting song requests from audience members. When requests for songs belonging to different patet were played during inappropriate sections, the patet system disintegrated (pers. comm., June 11, 1994). Composer Nano S. adds that the patet system began to decline when certain characters, and their accompanying music, began appearing at unconventional times in the performance structure. For example, the panakawan, who formerly appeared only around one or two in the morning, began coming out at any time during an evening's performance (pers. comm., July 20, 1994). Entjar Tjarmedi, director of the RRI Bandung gamelan from 1956 to 1968, added that after the patet system had collapsed, dalang were no longer trained to follow it.[11] Even though the patet system was no longer operative, publications nonetheless perpetuated the idea of patet as central to the musical and temporal organization of contemporary Sundanese wayang golek performance practice (e.g., Soepandi 1988b).

Efforts to "Javanize" Sundanese performing arts pervade Salmun's work. Salmun also devoted attention to the murwa, the opening invocatory text in the language of Sundanese Kawi. Salmun introduces several examples of the murwa, which seem to be derived from actual Sundanese practice. Although sources for these texts are not cited, Salmun footnotes what he deems are correct passages, those based on Javanese sources.

Dalang Elan Surawisastra (Soerawisastra) states that rules of performance (which he calls *patokan* and tetekon) were codified by M. A. Salmun, who, according to Surawisastra, was strongly influenced by Javanese aesthetic ideals of order: "We didn't have Sundanese patokan in wayang . . . tetekon are not Sundanese, but Javanese. [Wayang] must be this [way], it must be orderly, [it must follow the rules of] antawacana . . . from Java. [Tetekon] were 'Sundanized' by Pa Salmun, and accepted" (pers. comm., June 16, 1994).

Although there are no studies of Sundanese wayang golek during the period prior to Salmun's writing, normative categories of performance no

doubt existed before his efforts to codify them. Yet Elan Surawisastra expressed a common sentiment among dalang of his era that terminology, taxonomic systems, and concepts used in the written codification of Sundanese wayang golek were derived from Javanese sources and filtered through influential Sundanese intellectuals, whose scholarly views became canonized both by the circulation of their ideas in literate documents and their preservation in formal and informal archives of readers.

R. U. Partasuwanda

The second important figure in the development of pakem for Sundanese wayang golek is dalang R. U. Partasuwanda. Like M. A. Salmun, Partasuwanda was deeply influenced by the work of nineteenth-century Javanese court poets (*pujangga*), particularly the Javanese court poet of Surakarta, R. Ng. Ranggawarsita. Partasuwanda translated a synopsis of Ranggawarsita's *Ringkesan Pustaka Raja Purwa* (A synopsis of the Book of Kings, 1960b) into Sundanese from an Indonesian version by U. J. Katidjo Wiropramudjo and he composed another book of verse entitled *Wawacan Sadjarah Para Dewa* (The history of the gods, 1960c), based on Ranggawarsita's work.

Partasuwanda believed that pakem were tools that should be treated carefully but creatively. Unlike Salmun, Partasuwanda was not a purist. For example, Partasuwanda created a new form called *wayang golek moderen* (modern wayang golek) in the early fifties. The form was modeled after *sandiwara,* a popular theater form that developed in West Java in the early twentieth century. In wayang golek moderen, shows were two to three hours long rather than the conventional six to nine hours of wayang golek. There were four to five dalang, and all the wayang puppets could be moved simultaneously. The elaborate stage setting included painted pin-and-drop scenery that could be changed depending on the scene. Spotlights and dry ice created the effect of clouds and rain. Other effects included exploding volcanoes and the sound of guns firing. Wayang golek moderen was short-lived and essentially died out in the early sixties.[12] One of the reasons it died out, according to a dalang who had performed wayang

golek moderen with Partasuwanda, was because it limited the imaginations of its spectators (Otong Rasta, pers. comm., July 28, 1994).

Partasuwanda's self-published manual entitled *Pangadjaran "Ngadalang" di Pasundan* (Lessons in the art of the Sundanese dalang, 1960a) differs significantly from his translations of Javanese works and Salmun's *Padalangan.* The main part of the book is a short performance written as a text along with performance indications for the dalang. The murwa text, narration, dialogue, and kakawen are written from a performer's perspective and do not conform to Javanese standards of correctness. Campala and kecrek notations, musical piece indications, and drawings of characters and scenes are included as part of the story narration and dialogue. Further sections include selected kakawen in cipher notation, character genealogies and kakawen for specific characters, formulaic narrative descriptions for characters, instructions on how to manipulate puppets, and drawings of weapons used in performance.

Padalangan and *Pangadjaran "Ngadalang"* represent different approaches to the documentation of normative principles in performance. Both are prescriptive, although Partasuwanda's work is based more closely on actual practice. Both authors relied heavily on Javanese models and terminology, although Partasuwanda draws from his experience as a dalang. Salmun's study was directed toward intellectuals, cultural elites, and dalang whereas Partasuwanda's work is clearly intended for student dalang. Partasuwanda's examples of kakawen are derived from Sundanese oral tradition, whereas the suluk in Salmun's study are copied from a Javanese source. The importance of these two early examples is that they provided the models for future writers of pakem and tetekon, as well as the criteria that critics used later to define and evaluate aesthetic values in wayang golek of the New Order.

Writing and the Art of Wayang Golek

The proliferation of academic and popular press articles that appeared in the seventies and eighties had a significant impact on the definition and public perception of wayang golek. Although the influence of such publications

on wayang is not on the same level as that of direct government intervention, the academic and popular press were, nevertheless, public institutions that exerted a form of social control and scrutiny. Many of these materials were written by dalang in collaboration with scholars active in wayang organizations. Literature produced through the agency and sponsorship of these organizations includes manuals and other teaching materials, scholarly research and reports, official sources published in conjunction with festivals and contests, or unpublished manuscripts written by members of official organizations. Publications were produced for four main reasons: as educational tools for a rising number of students who attended the newly created high school– and college-level music and dance schools in Bandung; as instructional material for a growing number of amateurs interested in the art; as part of a national cultural policy to produce inventories of traditional arts; and as part of an official policy to regulate and standardize performance practice.

The three major writers of the post-1965 period were R. G. Y. Jayakusumah (also spelled Djayakoesoemah), Elan Surawisastra, and Atik Soepandi. These authors continued the work of earlier scholars, including Salmun and Partasuwanda. In an unpublished manual sponsored by the Central Foundation for the Art of Wayang in West Java (Yayasan Pusat Olah Seni Pewayangan Jawa Barat)[13] and distributed to dalang and officials who participated in the organizations, Jayakusumah (1976) uses the term *tetekon* to describe the same twelve aspects classified as requirements and taboos in Salmun's *Padalangan*. The section, entitled "The Laws and Principles of Performance in *Pedalangan* in West Java" (3–9), is an arrangement of standard scenes in performance. Tables list gods and their places of residence, specialized words used in wayang golek, and names of weapons and their owners. The main body of the manuscript consists of fifty story summaries arranged by scene.

Elan Surawisastra's *Panungtun Dalang Wayang Golek di Pasundan* (A guide for dalang of Sundanese wayang golek, 1982) follows a similar format. Surawisastra begins with a mapping of musical pieces for particular characters and scenes. This section continues with three examples of the murwa, examples of kakawen and kirata (narrative formulae for characters and scenes, more commonly called nyandra), selected weapons (*pusaka*)

and spells (*aji*) listed according to owner, a list of places where supernatural beings reside, and forty synopses of stories divided into scenes.

These works generally avoid the topic of either the panakawan (clown servants) or the sinden as an aspect of performance practice. Jayakusumah does not mention the sinden at all, although they were central to wayang golek performance practice at the time. On the panakawan, he writes: "Semar, Cepot, Dawala, and Gareng are only time-fillers to tell allusive jokes that satisfy [spectators'] desires" (1976, 6). Surawisastra (1982, 2) states that the most important aspect of jokes is to provide a space for inserting government messages. He mentions the sinden, but only to say that more than two or three song requests will bore the audience and disrupt the flow of the story. This assessment, in fact, conflicts with actual events both before 1965, when the sinden was dominant, and during my fieldwork, when it was not unusual for a panakawan to be the main character in a lakon.

The most prolific writer in the eighties was Atik Soepandi, a high functionary in the Central Wayang Foundation and Pepadi and a faculty member at STSI (formerly ASTI). In contrast to the previous authors cited, Soepandi was not a dalang, although he had received training as a dalang and was an accomplished musician.[14] Soepandi's work is based on research carried out among dalang in several regions of West Java; however, his publications minimize the importance of stylistic and regional variation, as well as the improvisatory nature of performance. Soepandi's work is largely descriptive and includes many examples of song texts, classifications of musical pieces and dance movements according to character and scene, and musical piece notations. His work also includes biographical data on specific dalang and some discussion of their performance practice. However, specific sources for texts and musical pieces are rarely cited. Further, Soepandi tends to define Sundanese performance practice using terms loosely derived from or inspired by Javanese wayang kulit. For example, he divides the repertoire of kakawen into *renggan, sendon,* and *talutur* (Soepandi, Danasamita, Sukanda 1992, 181–83).[15] Practicing dalang and musicians that I interviewed do not use these terms; rather, they refer to kakawen as simply kakawen. Scholars continue to derive terms from the vocabulary of Javanese wayang kulit, even though Sundanese terms are available and the concepts may not apply completely.

The proliferation of terms suggests that the organizations' involvement in the codification of performance practice has increased in the last twenty to thirty years. It might also suggest that the organization's interventions have not always been extremely effective. That is, terms continue to be superseded by new ones as their predecessors fail to take hold in people's imagination. Publications gave rise to new vocabularies in writing about wayang golek performance practice. In addition to the term *pakem,* other terms began to circulate among dalang including *tetekon, pola,* and *patokan.* These three terms have the connotation of rules, conventions, and tradition, respectively.

This is not to say that these terms had never been used in earlier Sundanese sources. However, some of these terms have gained a new and enhanced currency among dalang and other writers on the topic of wayang golek. The creation of terms and categories that diverge from actual practice indicate that scholars and critics have been actively involved in developing meanings that differ from the kinds of meaning constructed by performers. Tetekon emerged as actual aesthetic criteria for performance practice at three sites—contests, scholarly studies, and journalistic writing.

The Binojakrama

The prescriptive use of tetekon as evaluative criteria attained importance in conjunction with the annual wayang golek contest. In 1968 the mayor of Bandung gave the Bokor Kencana Astagina trophy to the Central Wayang Foundation to be handed out to the best dalang in a yearly contest called the Binojakrama.[16] This trophy has tremendous cultural capital and will later be displayed in the winner's home and viewed by prospective hosts and sponsors who visit him to commission performances. Additional prizes were to be given to the *juru kawih* (the female singer, commonly called sinden), *wiraswara* (the male vocalist, commonly called juru alok), and, as a group, *wiyaga* (the musicians, commonly called *nayaga*).[17] The winners received the recognition of their peers as well as free promotion through reports in the popular press. In addition, the top three dalang were invited to broadcast a wayang golek performance on the national radio station network.

I attended the twenty-sixth annual Binojakrama in the city of Karawang, on October 25–28, 1994. The contest included twenty-four wayang golek groups, one from each of the twenty kabupaten (regencies) in West Java, and additional groups from the *kotamadya* (municipalities) of Bandung, Bogor, Cirebon, and Sukabumi. Each group was chosen by the cultural affairs office for each respective kabupaten and kotamadya, which provided the group's uniforms, transportation, and food expenses. The event was preceded by a day-long workshop (*sarasehan*) attended by officers and staff of the sponsoring organizations, group representatives, and dalang. The gathering of dalang, musicians, and officials at these events was geared toward incorporating artists into national programs of development. Each group leader received a packet of materials beforehand that included copies of official letters, information about the event, registration materials, a schedule of activities, and "Petunjuk pelaksanaan Binojakrama" (Guidelines for Binojakrama performance; see Yayasan Pedalangan 1994). The opening paragraph of the guidelines frames the Binojakrama in terms of the connection between national programs of development and regional performing arts:

> Development, which is now in full swing, is oriented toward the benefit of the masses, the majority of whom subsist and reside in rural areas. They need to be uplifted and their standard of living adjusted to the development occurring around them. But at the same time, [the people's unique cultures], which have positive qualities, must be supported and developed as well as preserved. To that aim, it is necessary to develop an approach that can be persuasive and educative, so that they will feel aroused to actively participate in development. Through their artistic work and in appreciation of their efforts in the Binojakrama Padalangan, male and female artists of padalangan have an important role in [communicating] messages about development that are well assimilated[18] and persuasive.

The aim of state cooptation is unequivocal in the presumed duty of artists to "awaken" the people to development issues. Rural inhabitants, who make up the majority of Java's population, are depicted here in terms of their reliance on the central government. The arts were constructed and valued by the state as cultural media for communicating and inculcating

messages of governmentally sanctioned economic development. Preservation of unique cultural practices is important only insofar as the unique cultures of rural inhabitants have to be taken into account if the communication of government messages to diverse groups is to be effective.

The goals of the event are stated in the third paragraph of the guidelines. These goals relate to the promotion of specific aspects of performance practice, artists, an artistic community of performers, and the centrality of wayang golek in Sundanese society (Yayasan Pedalangan 1994, 1). The first point deserves attention because it focuses on performance:

> Cultivate and correct the principles of performance in the following ways:
>
> manners of staging or presentation
>
> lagu [songs] that introduce each scene
>
> murwa, suluk, kakawen, and sendon
>
> etiquette in presentation as appropriate to the standards of the art of the dalang in West Java and in accordance with the *Panca Curiga* [*Tjuriga*] (Panca S [Five S's]).

This first point strongly suggests the imposition of centralized control over local performance practices. There was an effort to assimilate regional styles of presentation with New Order standards of behavior (*tatacara*) and etiquette (*tatakrama*). The creation of abstract terms and categories, removed from actual practice, further substantiates Dalang Sapa'at Suwanda's sense of the top-down logic of the contests.[19] The terms used to describe categories within the musical repertoire, for example, would be foreign to most dalang and musicians who perform wayang golek. These terms, borrowed from Central Javanese wayang kulit practice, signal the centralizing tendency of these state-sponsored events. The New Order discourse of politics and culture was dominated by Javanese, as illustrated by the abundance of Javanese terms in the language of government-sponsored artistic events. Similarly, there is an obvious connection between the codified set of aesthetic concepts, called Panca S (Five S's) (Soepandi 1988c, 77), and *Pancasila,* the five principles of the Indonesian state. *Panca Tjuriga* is the name of a 1969 publication by R. A. Darja that codifies a set of five

aesthetic concepts central to wayang golek practice. While dalang may not know the publication, they would certainly be familiar with the ideas they signify, which refer to modes of concealing meaning through allusion, metaphor, and symbolism.[20] It may seem contradictory that the state supports strategies for concealing meaning, given that these are the very means by which dalang can register opposition to the state in performance. Yet these concealing strategies work both ways. Government messages, if they are to be successful, must be carefully woven into the fabric of performance so as not to seem too obvious or intrusive to spectators.[21] When built "indirectly" or subtly into a performance, these official messages and meanings appear perfectly natural and are more likely to be accepted without question.

The Contest and Its Effects

The contest took place in a large gymnasium. There was a regimental quality to the competition, as the uniformed contestants marched in procession into the stage arena which was surrounded by tables and judges. The main judges sat at a table in front of the stage on the gymnasium floor. Another group of judges sat at tables to the left side of the dalang and behind the gamelan musical ensemble. The audience was composed of participants, officials, some wayang aficionados, and family members of contestants. Only those performances held after sunset, in conjunction with the opening and closing ceremonies, drew substantial audiences.

The banana-log puppet stage, puppet chest, and gamelan instruments were set up on a stage constructed at one end of the floor. Each troupe used the same set of puppets and gamelan. Each troupe was allotted one hour for the dalang to present an entire story and for the female singer (sinden) and musicians (nayaga) to display their skills. A wooden plank with three light bulbs of different colors was placed parallel to the banana log on the audience side, visible to the dalang. The light bulbs acted as a time signal to the dalang: the yellow light signaled the dalang to prepare; the green light signaled to begin; three flashes of the red light signaled that five minutes remained; and continuous flashing of the red light meant that time had expired. The contest was a site for identifying those who could adapt

performances of wayang golek to limited time; who could obey directions to start, slow down, and stop; who could move the action along without breaks or lulls; and who could move on- and offstage with the required decorum and etiquette.

The Criteria

Performers were evaluated on their adherence to tetekon, Salmun's set of twelve aesthetic principles. The discourse about the contest criteria did not acknowledge that adherence to tetekon in a one-hour performance was inevitably different from that of an all-night event. According to Dalang Sapa'at Suwanda, the chairman of many juries in the eighties, participants were judged on all twelve aspects equally in an hour-long performance, which means that each of the twelve tetekon received five minutes of attention (Suwanda 1993, 8). In actuality, scorecards tended to use the twelve tetekon as a foundation for evaluation, and new scorecards, categories, and criteria were developed for each contest.

The official construction of meaning within a discourse of culture in the New Order can be seen by examining some of these categories. Within the category of *awicarita* (story, tetekon 11), any story may be chosen, but "the contents of a story must thematize mental and spiritual development and encompass information, education, and entertainment that is healthy and useful for the masses" ("isi ceritera bertemakan pembangunan mental spiritual dan berunsurkan penerangan, pendidikan dan hiburan yang sehat dan bermanfaat bagi masyarakat luas"; Yayasan Pedalangan 1994, 2). The third paragraph of the guidelines defines what it means to be communicative (*komunikatif*) within the category of *amardibasa* (language use, tetekon 9): the ability "to communicate the instructions of development to the masses" ("mengkomunikasikan pesan-pesan pembangunan kepada masyarakat luas"; ibid.). One must also use language that is "good and correct" (*baik dan benar*), a New Order slogan that refers to proper language use. The concept of *enges* (the ability to arouse the sentiments of spectators, tetekon 3), according to one of the jury members, was evaluated by how well a participant could "narrate the themes of government programs" ("itu yang dinilai oleh

para juri ketika Binojakrama kebijaksanaan menterapkan tema program pemerintah"; Dalang Sapa'at Suwanda, pers. comm., May 3, 1994).

A separate set of standards was used for the musicians. Each instrumentalist received a total score based on the following four categories: etiquette (*etika*),[22] playing technique(s) (*tehnik menabuh*); mastery of the piece(s) (*penguasaan lagu*); and ensemble balance (*harmonisasi*). Figure 2.1 shows one judge's scoring of a contestant from the 1985 Binojakrama, held in Subang. Individual playing techniques (*tehnik tabuh pada tiap2 waditra*) are listed below the names of each instrument, and, when observed by the judges, they are checked off. Within each instrument group, musicians who perform the greatest number and widest variety of techniques receive the most checks and the highest score. Musicians of the Giri Harja III troupe, voted the best instrumental group in the contest, mocked the incredible number and variety of techniques associated with the two hanging gongs in the ensemble (*go-ong [goong] kecil/kempul* and *go-ong besar*).

Figure 2.1 demonstrates the proliferation of sites where the organizations seek to intervene in practices of performance. Although musicians may be able to play the techniques listed above, the vast majority of those who participate are not familiar with the technical names. Instrumental techniques are titled for the purpose of classification and order. The rather excessive zeal to multiply and enumerate aspects of performance, in order to construct them as criteria for evaluation, attests to two related elements of the organization's project. First, the state's practice of naming, aimed at even the most minute aspects of musical performance, suggests a desire to control the musicians' art.[23] Second, the proliferation of names and categories available for critical evaluation works to reify the organization's legitimacy as judge of exemplary musicianship. The centralization of legitimate judgment of merit and excellence of musical style and presentation tends to diminish regional and ethnic musical autonomy. Groups that have been least affected by the hegemony of Bandung-based dalang and styles—namely those from Cirebon, Bogor, Indramayu, and Sukabumi—persist in adhering to local performance styles. At the 1994 Binojakrama, several of the judges alerted me to listen for a local Bogor/Sukabumi version of "Karatagan," the piece that opens every wayang golek performance; however, it was not played by either the Bogor or Sukabumi troupe. The feeling among those participants

DAFTAR NILAI ROMBONGAN WIYAGA

PADA BINOJAKRAMA PADALANGAN KE 21 SE - JAWA BARAT TAHUN 1985, DI KABUPATEN DT.II SUBANG.- PESERTA NOMOR: 10 DARI KABUPATEN/~~KODYA~~ : Bekasi. —

NOMOR URUT	JENIS/KEJURUAN	ETIKA	TEHNIK MENABUH	PENGUASAAN LAGU	HARMONISASI	JUMLAH NILAI
1.	Juru Rebab	65	65	65	70	265
2.	Juru Gendang	65	55	65	65	250
3.	Juru Gambang	65	70	70	70	275
4.	Juru Saron I/Barep	65	60	60	60	245
5.	Juru Saron II/Bayun	65	60	60	60	245
6.	Juru Panerus/Gender	65	60	60	60	245
7.	Juru P e k i n g	65	50	60	60	235
8.	Juru B o n a n g	65	50	60	60	235
9.	Juru R i n c i k	—	—	—	—	—
10.	Juru Jenglong	65	50	55	60	230
11.	Juru Ketuk	—	—	—	—	—
12.	Juru Go-ong	65	55	60	55	235
-	J U M L A H =	650	575	615	620	2460

TEHNIK TABUH PADA TIAP2 WADITRA :

R E B A B ;

1.- Bangbayang sari ✓
2.- Kumambang rema ✓
3.- Inten gading ✓
4.- Lintang alit ✓
5.- Lelol ✓
6.- Leot ✓
7.- Torolok ✓
8.- Gedag ✓
9.- Gerentes
10.- Cacag ✓

G E N D A N G ;

1.- Sentug
2.- Sengkug ✓
3.- Geblag ✓
4.- Bangbrang ✓
5.- Pangprang
6.- Kempring
7.- Kilinting ✓
8.- Kuruluk
9.- Ketug
10.- Plak/tongtong ✓

G A M B A N G ;

1.- Gelenye ✓
2.- Gonjleng ✓
3.- Calana komprang ✓
4.- Cecel monteng ✓
5.- Calung ✓
6.- Paksimuih ✓
7.- Adumanis ✓

SARON BAREP & BAYUN ;

1.- Lancaran/Pangkat ✓
2.- Sulintang ✓
3.- Panganti ✓
4.- Tinggur
5.- Tulpindang
6.- Puntennun
7.- Cangkurileung
8.- Prangpring
9.- Cinanagih

P A N E R U S ;

1.- Gelenye ✓
2.- Ngender ✓
3.- Buncis
4.- Ungkut-ungkut

P E K I N G ;

1.- Nyonya nangis
2.- Ngender ✓
3.- Cecelmonteng ✓
4.- Melodi ✓

B O N A N G ;

1.- Kemprang balesan ✓
2.- Ngoromong
3.- Ungkut-ungkut ✓
4.- Ninikuring

R I N C I K ;

1.- ~~Pangprang~~
2.- ~~Kempring~~
3.- ~~Kikisngelir~~
4.- Angkrong

J E N G L O N G ;

1.- Kenong balesan
2.- Adumanis ✓
3.- Sentul ✓

K E T U K ;

1.- ~~Babar~~
2.- ~~Dengkek~~

GO-ONG KECIL/KEMPUL ;

1.- Babar
2.- Tungkeb ✓
3.- Calangcang ✓
4.- Dengkek ✓

GO-ONG BESAR ;

1.- Babar ✓
2.- Sedet ✓
3.-,Gandul.-

SUBANG, 14 AGUSTUS 1985.-
GIRANG PANGAJEN WIYAGA KE 21

A. Sobari Suwanda

MENGETAHUI :
KETUA GIRANG PANGAJEN ;

Drs. Adjum Djunaedi.-

Catatatan lihat di sebelah :

FIG. 2.1. Scorecard for musicians used in the twenty-first annual All-West Java Sundanese Wayang Golek Contest, Subang, 1985

was that regional variation would go unrewarded when the scoring took place, due to the dominance of Bandung-based judges. Therefore, the Bogor and Sukabumi entrants abandoned their local version of "Karatagan" to curry favor with the judges.

While a dalang's reputation among other dalang increases after winning the Binojakrama trophy, that does not ensure that he will become successful among the public. Dalang have been responsible for making changes in public performance that directly conflict with official discourses about "correct" performance. As Dalang Sapa'at Suwanda states, "There is a saying: Although you may be good as a dalang, that doesn't necessarily mean that you're correct. On the other hand, you may be correct as a dalang, but not necessarily good. Although you may be good and correct as a dalang, it doesn't necessarily follow that you'll be popular and become an idol of the people" (Suwanda 1972, 12).

Dalang Sapa'at Suwanda's distinction between the categories "good," "correct," and "popular" signal the existence of criteria that dalang find much more compelling than those that are officially prescribed and sanctioned. Public policy constructs a subgenre of wayang golek that is distinct and separate from the current genre popular with the public and promulgated by idols or superstars. As long as abstract principles of correct performance remain distinct from what dalang consider to be art and communication, tetekon may never coincide with the art of the dalang.

Even the organization officers tend to agree with this point. In several unpublished writings, the contests are described as one type of performance, with unique circumstances and conditions. Dalang Sapa'at Suwanda, chairman of the Central Wayang Foundation of West Java, offers this advice to young dalang: "Now, we have to have stylistic layers, at least three styles, which are [first,] for presenting at the Binojakrama or juried festivals; second, for presenting to the upper class and officials; and third, for presenting to the general public. Always be aware of the specific circumstances and conditions of each performance" (1993, 8).

In a lecture presented at Pasundan University, Atik Soepandi, a member of Pepadi, states that the contests have limited impact outside the sphere of contests: "Pepadi has held Padalangan contests and workshops sponsored by the Yayasan Pedalangan to provide a place to preserve the value of the

art of the dalang that do not transgress tetekon. But only for the contest, [because] when performing outside, it's different. That is why people say that that style of performing is not popular when playing for the people" (1988b, 2). In fact, it is precisely those dalang whose styles have been described as outside tetekon (*luar tetekon*) that are often the most successful with the public. The desire to reach and communicate with the populace contradicts top-down efforts to regulate performance practice through the use of formal criteria. The criteria of the contest are a form of public policy that do not ensure popular success or positive audience reception. While the state's attempts to appropriate wayang golek as an official vehicle attest to the centrality of the form in the popular imagination, the state's success in gaining control of the principles of performance seems limited.

Dalang and Tetekon

Although Salmun's tetekon became important organizing principles of the wayang golek contests, they have not taken hold in the imagination of dalang, who have their own competing views of what makes a performance successful. All dalang must have an understanding of tetekon, or, as one dalang defined it, "what is usually done" (Ade Kosasih Sunarya, pers. comm., February 6, 1995). For dalang, tetekon refer to the basics that must be mastered in order to perform wayang golek. When a student is still learning, he may be able to perform wayang golek, but is said to "hold onto tetekon too tightly"; his performance style is too much like others' (ibid.). A student who masters tetekon may not necessarily be prepared for a formal graduation ceremony (*tawajuhan*). Only after moving beyond tetekon can he be considered a full-fledged dalang, an individual artist who has developed his own expressive style and personality. A dalang who adheres too closely to tetekon, as prescribed by official cultural apparatuses, will not be able to attract or satisfy his audience. In their tendency to fix the rich variety of performance, therefore, tetekon are potentially limiting factors in the artistic development of the performer and the evolution of the form.

While the performance of wayang golek certainly operates through common principles, dalang argue that standardized evaluative criteria for

Binojakrama performance are not flexible enough to deal with the demands faced by dalang in adjusting to the specific circumstances of each performance. The main concern of the dalang, even those said to adhere closely to tetekon, is to respond to the demands of the host and audiences. Yet there appears to be a need to regulate that very spontaneity that enlivens wayang golek performance, as it stays closely attuned to the needs and communicative demands of audiences.

Furthermore, standards of performance seem not only to multiply but to evolve over time. Discussions with older dalang call attention to aspects of musical performance that no longer exist in contemporary practice. For example, elder dalang often lament the fact that contemporary dalang do not use the standard sequence of pieces at the beginning of the performance, a common practice in the sixties. According to Elan Surawisastra, "Nowadays Pa Asep [Sunarya], Pa Dede [Amung], Endang [Taryana], or whoever, do not follow tetekon in music for wayang. In my time, there were rules. Before moving the puppets, there were four musical pieces . . . and each had its own meaning. Fifth, was the performance. . . . Nowadays, it's not like that, [but rather] according to one's whims. After the *talu,* [the choice of musical piece] depends on one's whims, as long as it's a good tune. But they're smart . . . they don't like tetekon, but go for whatever lagu they feel like. In my time, we weren't allowed to do that by our guru because there were rules" (pers. comm., June 16, 1994).

Elan Surawisastra is referring to the existence during his training of strict rules governing the arrangement of pieces after the opening instrumental medley (tatalu, or talu). The first two pieces after the tatalu had to be "Papalayon" and "Karatagan." The purpose of "Papalayon" was to invite the guests to gather around. "Karatagan" signaled the beginning of the performance. The murwa and introduction of characters in the opening scene was accompanied by one of the following pieces: "Bendra," "Golewang," "Karawitan," "Kawitan," or "Sungsang." In contemporary practice, "Papalayon" is played as part of the tatalu, if at all. Dalang rarely play pieces besides "Kawitan" or "Sungsang" for the murwa.

Dalang believe that audiences do not want to hear long opening pieces because they conflict with a dalang's ability to communicate effectively with contemporary audiences. Asep Sunandar Sunarya states in this regard: "I

am serving the people, not other artists or academics. I can play to other artists if they are present. Yes, it's true, my choice of pieces is not correct according to tradition. But if I follow tradition, my audiences will fall asleep. Why? Because, tradition is for old people—they remember what wayang was like in their time and it's not like that anymore. So they're critical" (English translation taken from my field notes).

Developments in wayang golek, as Asep Sunandar notes, reflect the changing aesthetic of the present. Certain pieces have gradually fallen out of use and have been replaced by others. Opening musical segments are no longer ordered in a strict sequence as they once were. These changes in performance practice challenged both the older generation of performers and the rigid order prescribed through publications and contests in the New Order.

Scholarly Studies

The use of tetekon as evaluative criteria attained importance in forums outside the immediate circle of the contests. In the early nineties a new body of work began to emerge from ASTI Bandung, the college-level academy in Bandung. Although they have some degree of circulation elsewhere, written materials used for the purpose of training dalang (which include manuals, story synopses, and research reports) are seriously studied only within the academic sphere. These studies differed from earlier studies by Salmun and others in that the evaluative criteria were directly applied to performance. Unlike the contests, which, according to Atik Soepandi and Dalang Sapa'at Suwanda, were distinct from public performances, scholarly studies promoted contest tetekon as standards of actual performance. One study produced at ASTI (Sujana, Caturwati, and Mayakania 1991) compared elements of one performance by a popular dalang with standards derived from Salmun's *Padalangan* as well as three studies by Atik Soepandi. The study concludes that the story chosen was inappropriate to the occasion; that some of the language was vulgar and sexual in nature (*berbau porno*); that while the language showed an understanding of antawacana, there was too much comedy (75 percent); and that musical arrangements did not

concur with structural norms. In another study, analysis of an individual dalang's style is based on performances that took place at a contest (Suaman 1991, 17). These developments demonstrate the ways in which official cultural institutions, in this case the arts academy, functioned as normative apparatuses for regulating wayang golek. The emergence of scholarly studies that evaluate actual wayang golek performances on the basis of formal criteria set down in the literature about wayang golek indicates the tension between cultural officials and performers and audiences.

The controversy over the idea of wayang zombie articulated at the beginning of this chapter signals the centrality of pakem, the normative principles of performance, in public debates that address the significance of wayang golek in contemporary Indonesia. Saini K. M.'s statements are consistent with the position advanced by officials and critics associated with wayang golek, which holds that moral and ethical values are embedded within pakem; that spectators have become secularized and are no longer interested in moral and ethical values promoted through wayang; that art and ritual are opposed to entertainment; and that the art of wayang golek needs to be protected by state cultural policies. For Saini K. M., wayang golek in the hands of influential dalang had fallen from its previous state as high art (*seni yang luhur*), and had become a degraded form of entertainment in which the demands of the audience were the sole criteria. What Saini did not realize was that entertainment, communication, and spirituality were linked, and that the meaning of those concepts changes over time. Without entertainment, a dalang cannot communicate anything, be it spiritual or otherwise. In fact, dalang whose performances are said to contain a high degree of spirituality are also among the most talented entertainers (e.g., Ade Kosasih Sunarya). Despite attempts by critics to sound the alarm of artistic purity, the interaction between the dalang and the audience, which Saini K. M. calls communication, remains of central importance to performers of wayang golek. Indeed, if wayang golek is to communicate anything, pakem must be flexible enough to avoid privileging abstract standards of performance over the capacity to reach audiences and to communicate with them.

During the New Order, wayang golek received greater scholarly attention within official cultural and educational spheres. At the same time, government monitoring and control of the art form dramatically increased.

Wayang golek contests represented attempts to recruit performers as potential vehicles for popularizing the government's program of national development. Contests served as a way of surveying the field of talented performers, of registering new groups, and policing the boundaries of acceptable performance practice. The contest effectively promotes not only particular performers but also certain types of performance.

As discursive practices around wayang golek have expanded, it has become increasingly difficult to speak of national cultural policy, national educational policy, and regional theatrical practice as completely separate domains. This discursive interpenetration deserves careful attention as state officials, regional cultural and educational institutions, contests, popular and scholarly publications, as well as seminar presentations enliven debate about performance practice and public policy. Wayang golek organizations, schools, the popular press, and official state apparatuses tended to advance a model of wayang golek that stood in opposition to the popular. In connection with this trend, written materials focusing on performance practice have given rise to new vocabularies aimed at codifying performance practice. Competitions have attempted to utilize as well as to efface regional difference in order to standardize performance practice. In effect, wayang golek competitions in the New Order period came to represent the practice of a more widespread struggle over the meaning of the art form itself.

Superstar dalang have been the subject of the most intense criticism for transgressing tetekon in favor of communication (*komunikasi*) and entertainment (*hiburan*). The dalang's emphasis on communication and entertainment enables him to represent audiences' interests, aims, and desires, which in varying degrees conflict with, resist, or accommodate official discourse. These dalang, discussed in the next chapter, pose a challenge to regulatory interests because, through their popularity, they preserve their autonomy and privilege artistic and communicative criteria that cannot be fully circumscribed by institutional mandates.

Part II

Poetics and Politics

Chapter 3

SUPERSTAR DALANG

> Style is the place where people are working out the politics and poetics of identity.
>
> —Charles Keil and Steven Feld, *Music Grooves*

On April 16, 1983, Dalang Asep Sunandar participated in a special performance called "By artists, for artists" at the Hotel Preanger, a five-star hotel in downtown Bandung. Sponsors of this event included the hotel, theatrical production company Dasentra, and recording companies SP Records and Jugala.[1] The purpose of the show was to encourage journalists, artists, and politicians to promote wayang golek, and particularly Asep Sunandar, among urban white-collar, middle-class audiences and potential hosts. The show was advertised beforehand in the popular press ("Kingkilaban" 1983) and, although admission was not charged, invitations were required.

Among the print media remarking on the special performance were the main Indonesian-language newspaper based in Bandung, *Pikiran Rakyat,* the Sundanese newspapers *Mandala* and *Gala,* and the Sundanese cultural magazine *Manglé.* Reports focused on the innovative nature of the performance and compared it (favorably) to other forms of mass entertainment, especially film and television. In one extremely telling report, scenes from the performance were said to be "cinematic" (*filmis*) because of Asep Sunandar's use in the middle of a very dynamic battle scene of a slow-motion film technique used in Hong Kong martial arts films (Y. Iskandar 1983, 19). Another reporter compared the dalang to Indonesian film star Slamet Raharjo and went as far as to add that even an actor of that caliber

was not capable of playing so many different characters in one night (Suwarna 1983, 51).

Throughout the eighties the print media continued to construct wayang golek as a genre of popular culture by using the discourse of competing mass mediated forms. Rustandi, a fiction writer and cultural critic, discussed the "phenomenon" (*penomena*) of Asep Sunandar ("Kesenian Sunda" 1987, 19). Journalist Eddy D. Iskandar recognized that the field of competition for dalang was large, but according to him, there was only one idol, Asep Sunandar. He talked about "Asep fever" (*demam Asep*) among young fans of wayang golek who reported that they only wanted to watch Asep Sunandar, not other dalang (1987, 21). Asep Sunandar was said to be *ngatop* (at the top) or to *ngorbit* (in orbit), terms previously reserved for popular music stars and their products.

These associations of the individual with the persistence and popularity of wayang golek hint at the development of superstar dalang, whose stardom is dependent on the phenomenon of mass mediations and the intensive capitalization of wayang golek performance, spectatorship, and sponsorship. The image of dalang as highly individualized performers was central to the discourse about wayang golek in the New Order. New forms of mediation and promotion of performers helped to create a system of division between a small group of "superstars" and the majority of "ordinary" dalang. More than ever before, the competitive field of wayang golek encouraged dalang to differentiate themselves from others, a practice that manifested itself in popular media, discourses of self-promotion, and performance style. These distinctions became important insofar as hosts used them as criteria for determining which dalang to hire, and fans used them as points for identifying with their favorite performers. The widening of this gap led to uneven distribution of opportunities, resources, and prosperity among dalang in this period.

Under these conditions of cultural production, four superstar dalang emerged: Tjetjep Supriadi (b. 1931), Ade Kosasih Sunarya (b. 1947), Dede Amung Sutarya (b. 1954), and Asep Sunandar Sunarya (b. 1955). I focus on these performers because of their individual talent and merits and also because of their specific institutional location and involvement with mass

mediation, government sponsorship, and new forms of promotion and publicity. These four individuals were not necessarily the most innovative among the large field of dalang, but the separate fan bases that developed around them were due in large part to their stylistic differences. Tjetjep Supriadi (fig. 3.1) fused wayang golek with sandiwara, an urban popular theatrical form. Ade Kosasih (fig. 3.2) was adept at presenting philosophical debates by using numerous characters to express a variety of contending viewpoints. Dede Amung (fig. 3.3) was appreciated for his knowledge of the language of wayang golek and an extensive musical repertoire. Asep Sunandar (fig. 3.4) was known for his emphasis on humor and experimentation with music, as well as his unrivaled puppet manipulation skills. Tjetjep Supriadi and Asep Sunandar were said to be more oriented toward entertainment (hiburan), whereas Ade Kosasih and Dede Amung were known for a stricter adherence to the conventions of the art (tetekon).

Despite these differences, some significant structural patterns become salient and identifiable by examining the lives and careers of these four performers. My analysis of these dalang and their troupes utilizes the following categories: (1) transmission of knowledge and kinship relations; (2) style, specialization, and adaptation; and (3) public status, visibility, and promotion. These categories are used to describe the grouping together of these individuals as superstars and to analyze historical shifts in wayang golek practice of the New Order period.

Transmission of Knowledge and Kinship Relations

Kinship relationships became significant not only in the training process but also in teachers' investments in promoting student dalang. Although such relationships were not unimportant in the past, the transmission of knowledge within an artistic community became more governed and mediated by familial relationships during the New Order. The seventies marked the first time that dalang could rely exclusively on wayang golek performance for their livelihood, and a new class of professional performers emerged. As a result of an increase in economic rewards for a few performers, combined

Fig. 3.1. Dalang R. H. Tjetjep Supriadi and his wife Sinden H. Idjah Hadidjah at their home in Karawang, 2001

Fig. 3.2. Dalang Ade Kosasih Sunarya and his troupe Giri Harja II perfoming at RRI Bandung, 1995

Fig. 3.3. Dalang Dede Amung Sutarya at his home in Bandung, 1999

Fig. 3.4. Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya holding the wayang puppet Gatotkaca before a performance in 1994

with a decrease in performance opportunities for the majority of performers, popular dalang of the eighties and nineties responded by limiting access to training in the dalang's craft to family members.

Ade Kosasih, Dede Amung, and Asep Sunarya were connected to a *padepokan seni,* an "artistic community," where transmission of specialized knowledge is based on apprenticeship with a guru and on collaborative learning.[2] There is no formal curriculum for becoming a dalang, although written sources are sometimes used for learning stories and genealogies of characters. The apprentices (*catrik*) are encouraged to work on technical skills first: puppet manipulation (including styles of walking [*keupat*], dance [*ibing*], martial arts movements [penca silat]), vocalization of characters' voices (antawacana), "mood songs" (kakawen), and two instruments used for cueing the musicians, the kecrek and campala. They must have a good knowledge of gamelan and, preferably, practical skills on the instruments. One of the most difficult skills, according to catrik, is the ability to create dialogue, because each character must speak according to his or her status, and status is realized through the appropriate use of language levels in dialogue.[3]

Tjetjep Supriadi's own training serves as a point of contrast to the other three dalang considered in this chapter. Supriadi is exceptional in that he did not grow up in an artistic family and was largely self-taught. He became interested in the art of wayang rather late in life, after pursuing an initial career as an elementary school teacher. After Supriadi had become a successful performer in the seventies, many younger dalang adopted his vocal characterizations and singing style. However, they did not receive direct training from him. Rather, they studied from his cassettes.[4] Supriadi limited the direct training of dalang primarily to his sons, who received the kind of training, resources, and performance opportunities that a family network could afford.

Because one-on-one instruction is normally unavailable and training is neither bureaucratically organized nor systematically administered, the opportunity to learn becomes a function of the catrik's proximal relations with the guru. The more opportunity the catrik has to work, observe, and interact closely with the guru, the greater his chances to receive spontaneous and direct instruction. When it comes to such proximal relations,

sons and siblings of teachers obtain highly privileged access to direct instruction. This category shows how even within the training process of dalang, exclusionary tendencies were already present even before the superstar system came into play. For males in a family of dalang, becoming a dalang is automatic, something that is not only meant to happen but in fact cannot be avoided (Otong Rasta, pers. comm., July 28, 1994). I frequently observed that, within a dalang's family, even the most seemingly disinterested males could manipulate the puppets well and possessed a working knowledge of the lakon repertoire.

Kinship relations have become increasingly important to delimit a padepokan's practice of promoting student performers among patrons and sponsors of wayang golek performances. Ade Kosasih told me that none of his catrik from outside the family have become practicing dalang, although several count him as their guru. His father had hundreds of students, but few of them from outside the family became practicing dalang. Others have suggested that knowledge is best kept within the family, especially as the concentration of economic benefits becomes important. For example, when superstar dalang are overbooked, the dalang usually recommends his own son to potential sponsors. The son is promoted by the dalang as an ideal substitute, or "facsimile," of himself. As a very close family relation, he has very similar vocal and linguistic qualities, the same regional origins and identifications, as well as similar or related narrative, musical, and dance repertoires. He even has access to the same set of puppets, instruments, musicians, sound system, and transportation. The son of a dalang benefits from such enthusiastic promotion from a highly revered celebrity dalang/teacher/father. His own family becomes the multifaceted source of his career training, promotion, and management, which he never has to assemble and coordinate himself. It is an infrastructure that comes fully coordinated and functioning as soon as he is ready to avail himself of such resources. Apprentices from outside the family do not have this advantage. As wayang golek performance has become increasingly lucrative in recent years, the transmission of the dalang's craft has become less democratic and more exclusive to family networks.

This is not to say that anyone with the proper connections can become popular. A classification of different types of dalang helps to clarify this

relationship between descent, training, talent, and resources. This classification has become part of the oral tradition and subject to personal interpretation by individual practitioners. I present an interpretation communicated to me by Dede Amung in 1999:

dalang mandalangan: a dalang with good training who never uses it

dalang tuturunan: a dalang who learned directly from his father

dalang katurunan: a dalang whose father was not a dalang, but who learned within a family network

dalang manalungan: a dalang who has the talent but lacks the resources (puppets, gamelan)

manalungan dalang: a dalang who has the resources but lacks the talent

Successful dalang, unmarked by any of these deficiencies, are those directly descended from a dalang or those with a family connection. However, one cannot rely on training alone, even within a family network, as illustrated by the category *dalang mandalangan* (*talang* = to use). A dalang may be good (category four), but will not excel without resources (for example, puppets or gamelan) that may be available to dalang within a family. However, a dalang with resources but no talent will not succeed, even with the support of a family.

Dede Amung believes that out of his teacher's students he was simply the best, not only because of his training but because of his ability to bring the characters to life, thus transcending the space between audience, performers, and wooden puppets. He explained this unique ability in terms of the concept of enges: "Among the many students of [my teacher] Pa Amung, perhaps their training was the same, but not all of them succeeded. [*He picks up the puppet Gatotkaca.*] For example, this is Gatotkaca, the dance of Gatotkaca, which is good, acceptable. But the one that's better, maybe that's nges. To speak in the voice of Cepot, the wood disappears, [and] Cepot's like a human. To dance Gatotkaca is not like a piece of wood, and not like a puppet, but like a human. 'Wow, that's really Gatotkaca!' So the character of Gatotkaca is infused with the dalang's enges. Then, whatever the dalang says, the spectators will feel" (pers. comm., May 1, 1995). Dede Amung's remarks about the importance of unique personal ability and individual

talent show that the importance of kinship relations in receiving maximum training opportunities does not, however, preclude the success of "unconnected" individuals. In fact, dalang frequently stress that talent is the most important aspect of becoming successful. Nevertheless, talent, no matter how great, would receive little public exposure and recognition in the absence of resources and opportunities to develop and promote it.

In order to reinforce this point, I have compiled various calculations of the number of dalang in West Java during the New Order. These calculations are based on registration with the Department of Education and Culture (Depdikbud), which is required in order to perform. Figures published in official reports are based on surveys carried out by the West Java regional branch of the Union of Indonesian Dalang (Pepadi Jawa Barat). Data collection of the sort carried out by Pepadi was part of national efforts to categorize and characterize various arts and cultural institutions during the seventies (see also Zurbuchen 1990, 139).[5] Registration would also ensure the monitoring of stories and performers, which have the potential to support, or threaten, the stability of the government.

Based on research in 1964, Brandon (1974, 214) estimates that there were fifteen hundred amateur and professional dalang in West Java. In 1978, Dalang Gunawan Jayakusumah "gives 2,000 as a conservative estimate" and "[a]nother estimate places the number of dalang in West Java at 12,000 and claims 3,124 dalang own their own puppets and gamelan" (Foley 1979, 6).[6] In 1987, according to Adjum Djunaedi, a Pepadi official, there were over five thousand registered dalang, the majority of whom lived in the kabupaten of Subang, Karawang, Tasikmalaya, Kuningan, and Bandung (Sumarsono 1987, 28). In 1989 the governor of West Java estimated a figure of almost three thousand dalang in West Java (Subagio 1989, ix). The most recent figures for registered dalang of wayang golek and wayang kulit in West Java (Pepadi 1990) are shown in figure 3.5.[7] Despite the large number of registered Sundanese dalang and wayang golek troupes in West Java, only a few perform with any frequency. Even fewer of these dalang make a living as professionals. As Dede Amung Sutarya, one of the most sought after dalang in 1994–95, said, "I can count on one hand the number of Sundanese dalang who can make a living from performing. It's like actors in America—not everyone achieves the fame and fortune of someone like Sylvester Stallone."[8]

Kabupaten	Number of dalang
Serang	36
Tangerang	42
Bogor	109
Cianjur	28
Sukabumi	81
Majalengka	69
Cirebon	57
Purwakarta	26
Karawang	114 [compiled 1988]
Bekasi	30
Bandung	282 [compiled 1987–88]
Tasikmalaya	63
Sumedang	64
Ciamis	144
Garut	52
Total	1,197

FIG. 3.5. Registration of dalang by kabupaten, 1990

I propose that the level of popularity achieved by a limited number of superstar performers was made possible only through the resources and opportunities of officially sanctioned mass media institutions. One might argue, as Dede Amung does, that these dalang were legitimated and rewarded simply because they were the most talented. It seems more likely that among the thousands of registered dalang, at least some possessed a level of talent equal to or greater than those who eventually became superstars. Given that likelihood, and the extraordinarily high number of dalang in West Java, one has to interrogate the social and cultural conditions that led to such a narrow field of representation.

Style, Specialization, and Adaptation

Teacher-student relations emphasize individual creativity, direct experience, and stylistic diversity. Each padepokan has its own style of performance. Style inheres in puppet manipulation, the differentiation of characters'

voices, repertoire of stories and music, dance movement sequences, and fighting techniques. In addition to skills and knowledge in the basic art of the dalang, each dalang builds a reputation by securing his own area of artistic specialization. For example, Partasuwanda, one of the most famous and influential postindependence dalang, characterized the generation of popular Bandung-based dalang in the sixties using the following categories:[9] A. Sunarya was considered a *dalang kritis* (brave and outspoken dalang),[10] Suhaya Atmadja was a *dalang sabet* (puppet manipulation dalang), and Adjat Sudrajat and Elan Surawisastra were known as *dalang dagelan* (comedic dalang). Dalang develop particular specializations to match their respective skills, as well as to be "different from all the others" (*lain ti nu lian*). According to Ade Kosasih, the present generation of popular dalang includes the following individuals and their respective areas of specialization: Asep Sunandar Sunarya (*dalang humor*), Dede Amung Sutarya (*dalang rancage,* talent and determination), Ade Kosasih Sunarya (*dalang antawacana,* voice differentiation), and R. Tjetjep Supriadi (*dalang haleuang,* singing) (Ade Kosasih Sunarya, pers. comm., July 12, 1994). Further, a dalang is expected to have his own repertoire of lakon (story episodes). Older dalang use the term *kostim,* a borrowing of the Dutch *kostuum* (lit., costume), as a way of identifying a dalang's trademark lakon. For example, Elan Surawisastra was closely associated with the lakon "Pergiwa-Pergiwati" and A. Sunarya was known for his treatment of "Ulun Umbul." Other dalang may perform those lakon, but are not as closely associated with them.

Although individual style and creativity have always been valued components of padalangan, it became even more important for dalang to develop highly distinctive styles during the New Order period. The frequency of wayang golek performances in and around the city of Bandung rapidly decreased after the destructive events of 1965–66.[11] Dalang had to adjust to the tremendous influx of foreign entertainment forms, and many either could not adapt or resisted the pressure to change. Wayang golek was perceived to be more closely associated with village life and was labeled old-fashioned. R. Goenawan Djayakoesoemah, a respected dalang and educator, writes, "The fact that wayang golek today is considered only a performing art for the rank and file or for people in village settings, is not

discouraging. I am certain that later wayang golek will return to its proper standing, and will be loved again by those who nowadays belittle, and moreover feel 'insulted,' or, as they say, 'humbled,' by watching wayang because it is a village art" (Djayakoesoemah [Jayakusumah] 1974, 9–10).

Competition for wayang golek audiences during the New Order period came from foreign sources, including American popular music, television, Chinese and Hindi film, as well as new forms of Indonesian popular music emanating from Jakarta (including dangdut and *tagoni*).[12] In 1974, Djayakoesoemah wrote, "Nowadays, at least for the moment, it is as if [wayang] is losing [popularity] to 'guest arts,' like bands such as the Beatles, genres including tagoni, shows featuring Striptease, and other tunes [kinds of music], even though it is only temporary" (1974, 9–10).

In the seventies Indonesia experienced an intense infusion of Western mass cultural forms (Djayakoesoemah's "guest arts"). Locally produced forms of traditional performing arts and entertainment were swept up in the competition for markets and audiences. Certain dalang, however, were able to capture a wide audience in spite of fierce competition precisely by incorporating highly innovative practices and adapting forms of Western, Chinese, and Indonesian popular culture to the theater of wayang golek. In response to the competition bred by the influx of mass culture forms during the New Order period, dalang created new ways of reaching audiences.

Tjetjep Supriadi

Tjetjep Supriadi occupied the forefront in the concerted effort among dalang to develop the image of wayang golek from a "rural," or "village," art to a "modern" form of urban entertainment. He responded by creating a hybrid style that fused wayang golek with sandiwara and film. Although wayang golek and sandiwara shared certain stories, sandiwara enjoyed mass popular appeal in the sixties, whereas wayang golek did not. His innovative style involved changing key aspects of wayang golek, including dialogue, dramatic structure, and music.

In dialogue sections, Supriadi made the characters appear more realistic, using a technique he referred to (in English) as *full action*. If a character

were speaking, the puppet should move, rather than stand motionless in the jagat (banana-log "stage"). He exploited the technique of moving the puppet's body up and down, creating the effect of a character breathing, even panting and sobbing during a particularly emotional scene. He also made the drama more lively by using more realistic vocal inflections derived from sandiwara and film, as opposed to the highly stylized vocal inflections characteristic of wayang. These emotional scenes characterized Supriadi's style, involving not only the panakawan and buta, whose voices are not fixed by tradition, but also more rigidly prescribed characters, including the refined heroes Arjuna and Rama. Dalang and critics accused him of breaking the rules of padalangan primarily because the refined aristocratic characters are not supposed to express emotions openly. Older dalang accused Supriadi of being a dalang sandiwara, a pejorative term, but he ignored them, asserting that wayang golek is simply a form of sandiwara that uses puppets.[13]

Second, he borrowed narrative techniques from sandiwara to tell *lakon wayang*. Sandiwara plays are based on temporal-causal sequences that lead to a climax and resolution at the end. The narrative construction of scenes in lakon wayang, which A. L. Becker (1979, 224) has called "text-building," is based on significant "coincidences," and the clash of different "conceptual universes" or epistemologies. Lakon wayang can resolve anywhere and oftentimes a deus ex machina is invoked when the time runs out. In contrast, sandiwara plots must resolve at the end. Nano S. noted that Tjetjep Supriadi's narrative style was akin to watching an Agatha Christie mystery: spectators act as detectives to try and guess the perpetrator of a crime. In lakon wayang the perpetrator is known from the beginning (pers. comm., July 20, 1994).

Tjetjep Supriadi also eliminated material in scenes that did not advance the plot and instead adopted a filmic technique of cutting between scenes. In many tales, for example, the opening scene (*karatonan*) is set in the audience hall of a palace where the king orders his prime minister to gather the forces in preparation for battle. The next scene (*pasebanan*) is set outside the palace where the prime minister gathers his soldiers. Supriadi discarded the dialogue in the pasebanan scene because the audience already knows what will transpire in this scene. He made the scene more lively by cutting

directly to a soldier's dance. The move toward a more visually oriented production with dance mirrored film.

Third, Tjetjep Supriadi in his early period brought new forms of music into the realm of wayang golek—popular music of Jakarta, music of the north coast, and folk music from Karawang—thus expanding his potential audience base. Filling the time with song was an effort to satisfy the desires of audiences who, since the late fifties, had demanded that sinden play a more prominent role in performances. Unlike sinden in other troupes, however, sinden in Supriadi's troupe were not raised up on tables so that men could see them move their bodies and dance onstage in sexually provocative ways. Rather, Tjetjep Supriadi's performances always featured his wife, Idjah Hadidjah, whose refined style of singing and elegant dress and demeanor signified a high level of sophistication (fig. 3.1).

Finally, no one was more prolific in making cassettes, and his products dominated the cassette market from the mid-seventies through the early eighties. Tjetjep Supriadi estimates that between 1971 and 1999, he and his troupe recorded over one hundred lakon. Tjetjep Supriadi's cassette recordings made a profound impact on the next generation of dalang. For example, after hearing Supriadi's recordings, Ade Kosasih and Asep Sunandar adopted his vocal characterizations for the demon king Rahwana and the clown Cepot, two of the most important characters in wayang golek (Tjetjep Supriadi, pers. comm., August, 1999).[14]

Ade Kosasih Sunarya

Born into the family of legendary dalang A. Sunarya, Ade Kosasih was chosen to carry on the family name. In a family almost entirely composed of dalang, stylistic differentiation became important in the highly competitive sphere of wayang golek. Ade Kosasih and his brothers were distinguished stylistically within the family at an early age. According to one family member, A. Sunarya blessed his son Ade Kosasih by blowing on his lips, whereas it was younger brother Asep's hands that were similarly blessed (Dede Candra Sunarya, pers. comm., September 18, 1994). Like his legendary father, Ade Kosasih was brilliant at telling stories and differentiating

the voices of characters in a scene. Ade Kosasih controlled an audience better than other dalang of his era. He could gradually transform a raucous crowd into a calm, attentive audience in a matter of hours. Through the stories and characters, Ade Kosasih passed on the mystical wisdom of wayang (*hikmah wayang*) that he had inherited from his father. He also carried on his father's practice of using a multitude of innovative ogre (buta) puppets that were designed and built by a group of creative puppet makers in his home village of Jelekong.

Ade Kosasih Sunarya's efforts to change wayang golek were not accepted by audiences largely because of the conservatism of his patrons and fan base. His audience comprised largely Sundanese who had come of age around the time of Indonesian independence. They rejected his attempts to use a rock band to accompany performances on television in 1988. Influenced by Jim Henson's Muppets and the television show *Sesame Street,* Ade Kosasih even introduced rubber puppets; however, his fans responded negatively. Nevertheless, his fans consumed his numerous cassette recordings, which he recorded prolifically in the seventies and eighties.

Dede Amung Sutarya

Dede Amung's style was also perceived to be a direct descendant of an older style of wayang golek. His fans described his style as classical (*klasik*) and still pure (*masih murni*), implying that he had not succumbed to the more "impure" trends of the modern era. However, Dede Amung was also at the forefront of changing trends in wayang golek in the eighties and nineties. He was the first of his generation to use the spectacular new resources of a *multilaras* gamelan in performance (see chapter 5); he worked with the most popular female singers of the day and these singers introduced popular songs within performance; and, in perhaps the most radical departure from traditional practice, he performed wayang golek in bahasa Indonesia, the national language.[15]

In spite of his role as an innovator, the distinctive image of Dede Amung depended on the public perception of him as a "conservative" dalang. Dede

Amung was perhaps best known for his knowledge and presentation of the ethical and moral principles (*palsapah*) that are embodied in wayang characters and stories.[16] These principles are communicated indirectly through symbolic allusion. Dede Amung's publicly promoted image depended on his grasp of and ability to communicate the more immutable deeper meanings of wayang golek. Nevertheless, such an image did not prevent him from becoming involved in the innovative trends that helped secure the continuing appeal of wayang golek in the era of mass-produced entertainment forms from within and outside Indonesia.

Asep Sunandar Sunarya

Asep Sunandar, like his father and older brother, experimented with voice, movement, puppet construction, and music during the mid-seventies. He stood apart from his family, however, in several respects. During his formative period, Asep Sunandar was inspired by commercial cassette recordings by dalang including Jamar Media and R. Tjetjep Supriadi (see chapter 6). Unlike members of Asep Sunandar's immediate family, these dalang utilized a style of dialogue derived from sandiwara. Whereas Ade Kosasih maintained a strong connection to the Bandung-based style of his father, Asep Sunandar appropriated styles from practitioners in other Sundanese cities as well as international mass culture forms.[17] He mastered movements that derived from his own exposure to American popular culture on television and in film as well as martial arts films produced in Hong Kong.

Further, he popularized innovations introduced by other dalang.[18] For example, two of the most well known innovations used by Asep Sunandar involve the puppet Cepot. In one case, the dalang gives Cepot a cigarette, and in another the puppet actually has one leg attached, in order to give him a more realistic appearance in dance sequences.[19] By developing innovative and stylistically hybrid performances, Asep Sunandar was credited with bringing wayang golek back to a younger generation of audiences through mass media. One reporter credited him with "the return of wayang golek."[20]

Through his innovative style of performance and promotional practices, Asep Sunandar is seen to have made successful inroads into urban entertainment, where the popularity of wayang golek had been declining. His success was aided by an urban network of artists, impresarios, and politicians who applied new methods of promotion. Following the 1983 performance described at the beginning of this chapter, sponsorship by government offices, private businesses, high schools, and universities increased in urban Bandung. Asep Sunandar cultivated connections with top-ranking officials in the Department of Education and Culture (Depdikbud) who filled requests from schools with performances by his troupe and not others. My contention that Asep Sunandar prefigures a significant departure from previous forms of institutionalizing wayang golek as a traditional performing art is echoed by journalist Eddy D. Iskandar: "Asep has cleared a path, so that now there are more people who wish to sponsor and watch wayang golek" (1987, 21).

All four dalang were pivotal in capturing a wide audience for wayang golek in spite of the intensified incursion of Western popular entertainment into the Indonesian market. Innovative transformations of wayang golek focused on incorporating more realistic vocal and dramatic practices from other Sundanese theater forms (sandiwara), using movement techniques inspired by American television and Chinese film and expanding the musical repertoire in order to appeal to urban audiences with a newly developed taste for novelty.

But capturing the attention of mass audiences is only the beginning of this process of communication. A dalang must also be adept at reaching diverse audiences who have ever more rapidly changing expectations. A popular dalang's success emanates from his ability to adapt to different performance contexts, the so-called *sikon* (*si*tuasi dan *kon*disi) of performance. Occasions for sponsoring a performance include a wide variety of ritual and nonritual events. Sponsorship may come from individual hosts, groups of families in a community, national or local government bodies, industry, universities, and hotels, among others. All four dalang established an urban base of popularity among middle-class and, to some degree, upper-class audiences and hosts. Although hosts as well as a certain section of wayang golek audiences are drawn from the upper classes, by far the most frequent

type of performance is the family-sponsored hajat, in which the majority of spectators are working-class, lumpen, or peasant audiences. Although hajat sponsors and guests come from the elite, local people from all walks of life traditionally gather around the performance as spectators.

Top dalang are particularly flexible in adapting to specific conditions of performance. They are able to accommodate formal aspects of performance related to duration and staging configurations. They know how to address specific interests of the audience and follow specific instructions from the host pertaining to the preferred content and emphasis of the performance. To maintain mass appeal, they also learn not to emphasize one aspect too strongly over others. As Asep Sunandar recounts, "I sell something, as [at] a food stand, a store . . . if you want entertainment, entertainment it is, if you want philosophy, it's philosophy. So it depends on the conditions and circumstances of performance" (pers. comm., January 15, 1995).

While individual dalang may be asked to perform in a variety of contexts, they are chosen by hosts because their style is thought to be appropriate to specific events and audience tastes. The host may request that the dalang recite a particular story, but the dalang relies on audience commentary to fill in the dialogue. For example, he may arrive early at the site and ask the people what is going on in local religious or political matters; this commentary will then be inserted into the evening's performance. Further, each dalang has his own preferences and limitations. For example, although dalang talk about being politically neutral (*netral*), especially after the fall of Suharto's New Order, it is not difficult to interpret a dalang's own politics from watching him perform. Thus, while the ability to adapt to various contexts is important, a host is aware of a dalang's specialization before he is hired.

Public Status, Visibility, and Promotion

In the New Order a dalang's career became dependent on the circulation of his image through popular-press articles, commercial advertising, cassette sales, and radio and television broadcast opportunities. As dalang attempted to reach white-collar, middle-class audiences and urban youths,

their success became predicated upon an urban network of artists, media producers, impresarios, and politicians who supplied new methods of promotion. It is perhaps no surprise that the most successful dalang are the ones most often present in the public eye. These dalang maintain strenuous touring schedules, which require tremendous coordination among members of the troupe. Performance troupes travel widely throughout the province of West Java and may perform on consecutive nights in locations several hours away from each other.

The calendars provided in figures 3.6 and 3.7 demonstrate the hectic and sustained performance schedule of a highly popular troupe during a forty-five-day period immediately following Ramadan in 1994 (the right-hand column shows the technical requirements for each location). The host sets these requirements and they are agreed upon before the troupe agrees to the performance. The accompanying maps of West Java show the extensiveness of the terrain that such dalang are able to cover (West Java is over a thousand kilometers long). Locations are listed at the level of regency (kabupaten). Hosts may invite certain dalang to read and interpret passages from the Qur'an (*ngaos*) before the performance. Not only is such a thriving professional life more lucrative for dalang, it is also an important basis and signifier of his status and popularity. In other words, dalang receive a favorable reputation by maintaining a highly visible and busy touring schedule.

Another source of a dalang's professional status is his ability to attract top male musicians (nayaga) and female singers (sinden). The best musicians in the top troupes may move around, depending on who can offer them the greatest opportunities and the most satisfying careers. For example, in 1994–95 there was a great deal of interchange among musicians in Asep Sunandar's Giri Harja III and Dede Amung's Munggul Pawenang. Giri Harja III included six musicians formerly associated with Munggul Pawenang; during the year two defected to the other troupe, only to return later. Hiring musicians from a rival troupe intensifies the competition between troupes. For dalang there are clear advantages to having members of a rival troupe join one's own troupe. Musicians bring new musical pieces, new arrangements, and new jokes that may be incorporated into performance. Innovative dalang are always looking for musicians adept at "feeding" the dalang new jokes and phrases throughout the all-night performance.

Date	Location	Type
14	Bandung	SMLD
15	Bekasi	SMLD
16	Purwakarta	SSMLD
17	rest	
18	Ciamis	SSMLD
19	Bandung	SSMLD
20	rest	
21	Bandung	SMLD
22	rest	
23	Subang	SSMLD
24	Subang	SSMLD
25	Majalengka	SSMLD
26	Bandung	SMLD
27	rest	
28	Sumedang	SMLD
29	Sumedang	SSMLD
30	Tasikmalaya	SMLD
31	Bekasi	SMLD

SSMLD: *siang semalam mobil listrik diesel* (afternoon and all-night; transportation, electricity, and generator); SMLD: *semalam mobil listrik diesel* (all-night; transportation, electricity, and generator).

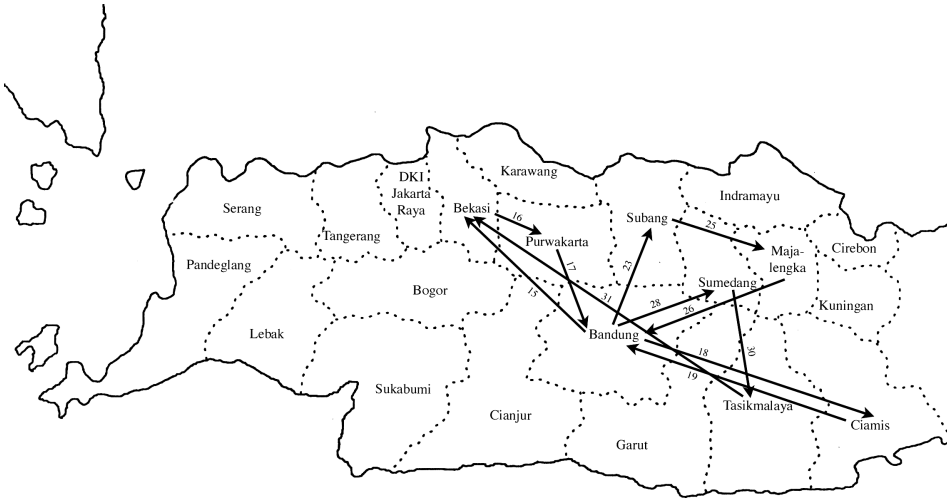


FIG. 3.6. Giri Harja III schedule and map for May 1994

Date	Location	Type	Date	Location	Type
1	rest		16	Subang	SSMLD
2	Jakarta	SMLD	17	Subang	SMLD
3	Bandung	SMLD and ngaos (speech)	18	Bekasi	SMLD
			19	Subang	SSMLD
4	rest		20	Bandung	SSMLD
5	Subang	SSMLD	21	Jakarta	SMLD
6	Subang	SSMLD	22	Subang	SSMLD
7	Bandung	SSMLD	23	Tasikmalaya	SMLD
8	Bandung	SMLD	24	rest	
9	rest		25	Bogor	SMLD
10	Bandung	SMLD	26	Tasikmalaya	SMLD
11	Sumedang	SMLD	27	rest	
12	Bandung	SMLD	28	Sumedang	SMLD
13	Bogor	SMLD	29	Subang	SMLD
14	Majalengka	SMLD	30	Bandung	SMLD
15	Bandung	SMLD			

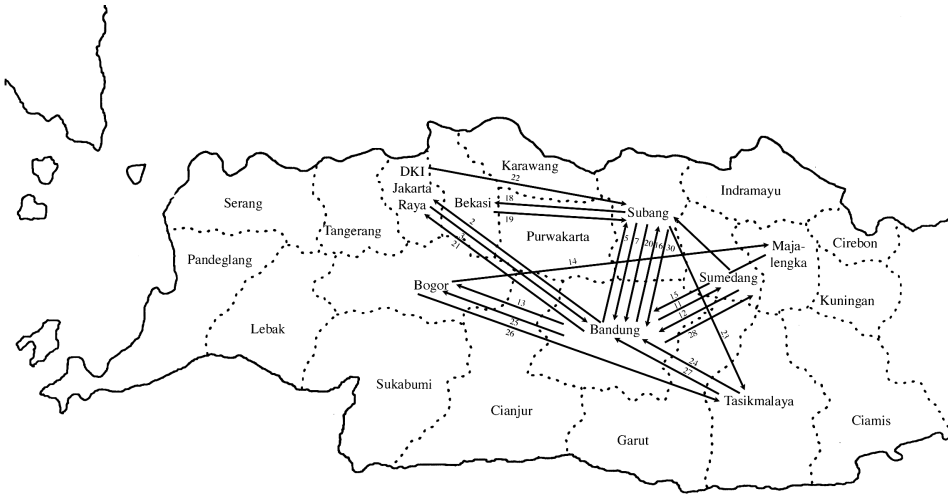


Fig. 3.7. Giri Harja III schedule and map for June 1994

However, economic and professional factors are not the only determinants for playing with one troupe or another. Family and personal considerations also account for such moves, as many of the musicians are related through family ties. In addition, musicians may have worked for other dalang in the same family. For example, several musicians in Dede Amung's troupe, Munggul Pawenang, were musicians for troupes directed by his older brother Amung Sutarya. Musicians who played with Asep Sunandar's Giri Harja III had played in wayang golek troupes directed by his father, A. Sunarya, or his older brother Ade Kosasih Sunarya.

A third source of status and public visibility are the local tabloids, which aid in propagating a dalang's image in terms of style, specialization, and distinctive appeal. A dalang's career has become dependent on the circulation of his image among potential audiences and hosts. Audiences and hosts base their desires and expectations on discourses of image, personality, and celebrity. For example, hosts may not hire a wayang golek performance at all if their choice of performance troupe is unavailable or unaffordable (see Yamin 2000).

Superstars were highly successful at stimulating the promotional apparatuses to increase their public presence and visibility (fig. 3.8). While a dalang's image is not cultivated nearly as extensively in the press as are those of actors and musicians in the United States, the proliferation of popular press articles related to wayang golek during the New Order deserves careful attention in relation to the individual figures mentioned. Newspapers and magazines included feature stories, announcements, advertisements, and official information related to wayang golek. The popular press was also used as a forum for criticizing as well as promoting dalang, leading to further mass-culture venues for intervening in popular wayang golek performance practice. Professional dalang have used the print media to respond to criticism through interviews as well as letters to the editor. Professional dalang have also used the print media for promotional purposes in the same way that other entertainers have. For example, articles usually mention the average cost of a performance as well as an address where the artists can be reached.

Fig. 3.8. Advertisements for performances featuring Asep Sunandar, 1995

HANNY Enterprise
EXHIBITION
SHOW BUSINESS
PROMOTION

Hari ini Pkl. 19.00
HANNY ENTERPRISE
Mempersembahkan :

GUDANG GARAM

PAGELARAN WAYANG GOLEK
"GIRI HARJA III"

Dengan lakon Spektakuler

"KARNA TANDING"
(Mahabaratha)

Mahacerita Perang Baratayudha yang penuh dengan Jiwa Kepahlawanan dalam melaksanakan Tugas Pralaya membela negara yang penuh pengorbanan ..... Saksikan, ditengah medan laga si "CEPOT" membuka Door Prize (hadiah) untuk para penonton yang beruntung.

PENAMPILAN TERAKHIR DALANG
" H. ASEP SUNANDAR SUNARYA "
SEBELUM MENGIKUTI FESTIVAL DI JERMAN

Diawali Pementasan
"TARI MERAK & JAIPONGAN"
Lawak **" BARAYA GROUP"**

TICKET TERBATAS DI TEMPAT PERTUNJUKKAN
BANDUNG PROMOTION CENTRE,
Jl. Asia Afrika 39 Bdg. ☎ 436116

Ticket berhadiah si " CEPOT " sudah termasuk :
ROKOK **"GUDANG GARAM"** KOPI INDOCAFE SOFT DRINK Coca-Cola

IKLAN

For example, press accounts produced support for Asep Sunandar against his critics and competitors in the sphere of wayang golek. In the eighties critics had charged that Asep Sunandar's fight scenes, especially those that could rival even the most violent martial arts and action films, were "sadistic" (*sadis*) because he incorporated innovative puppets whose heads exploded during battle scenes.[21] Such ostensibly negative representations of Asep Sunandar's innovative approach nevertheless did a great deal to promote Asep Sunandar's public presence by creating notoriety and interest. Positive representations of his masterful innovations were, however, not lacking. One journalist wrote that the dalang and gamelan group were particularly well integrated (*kompak*) into Asep Sunandar's troupe, unlike most troupes he had seen, where the dalang and sinden seemed like separate acts.

The novel types of promotional processes described above are not the only method available to dalang. When they are not performing, top dalang make themselves available to guests at home. They receive a steady stream of visitors who seek advice in spiritual matters, financial dealings, and other personal affairs. Prospective hosts or their representatives also come to schedule or negotiate performance times and fees. They may also visit an actual performance in order to evaluate the dalang themselves. All four dalang discussed in this chapter also use these conventional modes of promotion.

All four performers were able to dominate in the field of wayang golek performance through novel means. There was an identifiable trend in wayang golek toward utilizing modern innovations, mass cultural forms, and capitalization in order to compete with commercialized forms of mass entertainment. Recourse to the popular press for promotional purposes, to filmic images for technical innovation, and to new forms of media for circulation allowed wayang golek to appeal to upwardly mobile classes, consumers of mass culture, and urban youth. By appealing to such a wide audience, dalang were able to stem the initial decline of wayang golek in the rapidly urbanizing region of West Java, where intense capital penetration in the area of mass entertainment produced fierce competition for the attention of potential wayang golek spectators and hosts.

Chapter 4

CHALLENGING THE NEW ORDER WITH ENTERTAINMENT

DIKSAKEPU: Sajumlah waladia balad tamtama!
RAKSASA-RAKSASA: Inggih, inggih, inggih . . .
KALAPIDEKSA: Sajumlah waladia balad?
RAKSASA-RAKSASA: Inggih, inggih, inggih . . .
KALAPIDEKSA: Yap, ka dieu.
RAKSASA 1: Ngahaturkeun sembah baktos, Gusti.
DIKSAKEPU: Ditarima, nuhun.

RAKSASA 1: Aya pikersaeun naon?
DIKSAKEPU: Diuk lanan.
RAKSASA 1: Ha?
DIKSAKEPU: Diuk!
RAKSASA 1: Mangga.
DIKSAKEPU: Calukan dulur-dulur maneh!
RAKSASA 1: Ha?
DIKSAKEPU: Dulur-dulur maneh, calukan!
RAKSASA 1: Ayeuna?
DIKSAKEPU: Enya, ayeuna!
RAKSASA 1: Manawi teh pageto.

DIKSAKEPU: Officers!

OGRES, *offstage:* Yes, sir! Here, sir!

KALAPIDEKSA: Officers?

OGRES, *offstage:* Yes, sir! Here, here!

KALAPIDEKSA: Get over here!
OGRE 1: At your service, Commander.

DIKSAKEPU: I accept your greeting, thank you.
OGRE 1: What is your command?
DIKSAKEPU: I'll get to that.
OGRE 1: Get to what?
DIKSAKEPU: First be seated.
OGRE 1: Oh sure.
DIKSAKEPU: And call your men!

OGRE 1: What?
DIKSAKEPU: Your men, call them!

OGRE 1: Now?
DIKSAKEPU: Yes, now!
OGRE 1: I thought you meant tomorrow.

In this scene, excerpted from a performance of wayang golek on May 18, 1994, Minister Diksakepu orders General Kalapideksa to prepare his troops for an attack on a neighboring kingdom. The minister has difficulty communicating with the troops, a band of unruly *rakṣasa* (ogres). An amusing lack of coordination is depicted as the troops, far from seeming disciplined and alert, respond to command with hesitation, aimlessness, and avoidance. The performance text provides an interesting allegorical lens from which to view representations of military order. In a society that depended heavily on the military maintenance of order, examples from wayang golek performance evoke challenges to the army's authority.

In another scene from the same performance, the confused and disorganized soldiers are shown to be more concerned with dancing popular dances, singing popular songs, and generally having a good time than with being the perfect image of force and intimidation. They fail to elicit confidence by seeming unprepared for serious battle as they joke around, use vulgar language, and talk about their favorite local foods. Moreover, they inspire sympathy rather than fear or submission as they are shown to be honestly frightened by the prospect of battle:

RAKSASA 2: Lain keur nanahaon atuh mamawa uing ari rek gelut ku manehna mah? Kabina-bina teuing atuh naon gawe aing?	OGRE 2: What task have I been brought here for? Now that it's time to fight, what is to be my job?
RAKSASA 1: Padahal nya lamun, enya mah ngajak uing dek gelut mah, tong make jeung ngik-ngoak ku nyalira padahal, urang we.	OGRE 1: If you're asked to fight, remember not to fight alone. It's all for one.
RAKSASA 2: Heueuh nyaeta uing ge ngomong teh nepi ka palebah dinya. Na kabina-bina teuing.	OGRE 2: That's right, I'm with you.
RAKSASA 1: Emen!	OGRE 1: Emen![1]
RAKSASA 2: Ah, moal-moal make Emen.	OGRE 2: And stop saying "Emen."
RAKSASA 1: Tapi meureunan eta mah bade nyoba-nyoba we.	OGRE 1: Time to forge ahead.
RAKSASA 2: Sakirana itu waladia balad Sawarga maju urang?	OGRE 2: What about if their troops advance, what should we do?

RAKSASA 1: Maju!
RAKSASA 2: Kira-kirana Widadari bakal kabawa?
RAKSASA 1: Dah-dahan.
RAKSASA 2: Kumaha mun Widadari lamun teu kabawa?
RAKSASA 1: Urang megat anu rek ka pabrik.

OGRE 1: Face them!
OGRE 2: D'ya think the angel will be captured?[2]
OGRE 1: Let's hope so.
OGRE 2: What if she can't be taken?
OGRE 1: Then we'll pick up one of the girls on their way to work at the factory.

The army figured prominently in the dalang's narrative at that particular event largely due to the site of performance: a large athletic field where the regional command of the Siliwangi army division normally gathers for their military exercises. Thousands of Sundanese people from the surrounding area—mostly workers and their families—had come to spend their Saturday night here. Army personnel and police were stationed at the front and sides of the stage to keep order, as they did in varying degrees at all wayang golek performances, just in case people in the audience got too drunk or too violent (as they frequently did at such events).

The army was the source of many jokes. As Asep Sunandar later told me, the jokes were meant as a way to personalize these men as Sundanese rather than as representatives of the Indonesian state. Soldiers were humanized through wayang in long entertainment sections where soldier puppets performed the popular folk-based dances of jaipongan and the rustic martial arts dances of penca silat. The audience was particularly attentive during these dance sequences as they marveled at the dalang's skillful puppet manipulation and enjoyed the absurdity of soldiers letting their bodies loose.

These passages provide rich data to analyze the place of entertainment in the New Order. In my discussion of entertainment, I delineate the realm of the popular, a dialogic space where the ideologies of the state and the interests of Sundanese people converge. In this encounter, audiences are not empty passive receptacles to be filled with preferred meanings by the state but are active agents capable of accommodating, resisting, or transforming symbolic representations enforced by the state. In this exchange, dalang play a pivotal if contradictory role as purveyors of meaning. On the one hand, the dalang acts as an information officer (juru penerangan) as he

mediates official views of the state. On the other hand, the dalang retains a crucial identification with the perspective of the people, and it is such strong identification with the audiences' views and concerns that allow him to entertain them.

Using translated excerpts from performance, I show how the dalang's impulse to entertain his principally nonelite audiences enabled him to speak and represent their frequently silenced and suppressed realities.[3] In the absence of the aural and visual elements that give a performance its rich texture, a performance text can only offer a partial representation of performance. I utilize textual analysis to illustrate the ways in which certain narratives came to have particular meaning for Sundanese audiences in the highly restricted public sphere of late New Order Indonesia.

The performance I analyze was sponsored by the national telecommunications company (PTT Telkom) to celebrate the opening of their new facility and training school in the Sundanese town of Dayeuh Kolot.[4] The performance was combined with the forty-eighth anniversary celebration of Siliwangi, the army division from the province of West Java, and was held in a large field used for military exercises at a regional military base commonly referred to as Zipur.[5] By commissioning a performance, the corporate sponsor wished to establish good will and cooperation between local workers and people living in the surrounding community.

The lakon "Jabang Tutuka" (The birth of Gatotkaca) was chosen by the sponsoring company because of its emphasis on technology; in the story the character Jabang Tutuka is killed and brought back to life by boiling his lifeless body in a hot cauldron with many different metals. Some people have referred to this story as Indonesia's version of *The Six Million Dollar Man*, a television series that was popular in Indonesia in the early eighties. The story recounts the birth of the legendary figure Gatotkaca, a nationalist hero since the birth of the Indonesian nation. The tale is associated with the regime of Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, and the early period of Indonesia's independence.[6] Gatotkaca, a warrior who symbolizes strength, bravery, loyalty, and persistence, is perceived as an embodiment of the nation's ideals. In the Sukarno era, Jabang Tutuka (the young Gatotkaca) was perceived as a metaphor for the nascent nation of Indonesia.

In the story Jabang Tutuka's umbilical cord must be cut, which may be

interpreted as an allusion to the severing of colonial relations between Indonesia and the Netherlands. The weaker body, represented by Jabang Tutuka, must be destroyed; and then, through supernatural forces and indigenous riches (in this case, minerals), the body is brought back to life as the hero Gatotkaca. But unity cannot be achieved without the talents and resources of many (representing the ethnic, religious, social, and cultural diversity of Indonesia's population) who are physically melded into one body (the nation). While the story resonates with national Indonesian interests, the music, language, humor, and dramatic elements are aimed at exclusively Sundanese sensibilities.

Government-sponsored performances are not nearly as common as family-sponsored events, but they are significant for the mass audiences that they draw. Government-sponsored performances are usually commissioned for the opening of an office or school or the celebration of independence day or some other national holiday. In the larger cities an attendance of thousands is not uncommon. Performances are free and take place in large public parks or squares adjacent to government buildings. Not surprisingly, government-sponsored performances are often highly constricted spheres for political and social debate. Nevertheless, they represent auspicious moments when dalang can reach mass audiences, as only the government can provide. That is, the government's unlimited resources allow highly spectacular events that utilize superstar performers to draw huge audiences to centrally located public spaces. The absence of bureaucratic and spending restrictions creates unsurpassed conditions for attracting audiences. These restrictions include the expensive and often lengthy process of procuring permits from local administrative bodies in order to sponsor a public gathering.

Although the government assembles large audiences expressly for the purpose of exposing them to specific government messages, in fact dalang are able to posit multivalent, contradictory meanings that subvert the outward consistency of state ideology. While superstar dalang capitalize on the performance opportunities the state has to offer, they use these opportunities to debate and contest the power and authority of the state. The dalang functions as a bridge that enables people to participate as critical members of the nation in certain, albeit limited, ways.

Entertainment and the State

As in most government-sponsored performances of wayang golek, education and information about government programs exerted a formidable presence. Songs and humor were used as an effective means of making government messages appear salutary and reasonable to audiences. The dalang in this case acted as an information officer and wayang golek was used as a tool to win the consent of the people for government programs. This perspective "takes the time-honoured view of entertainment as the sugar on the pill of the real meaning and purpose of the cultural product in question, which in this case is 'ideology'" (Dyer 1992, 5).[7] This perspective would explain the state's interest in wayang golek and the collaboration with celebrated dalang, who reach mass audiences through performance.

In the following two examples, the dalang satisfies the official hosts of the performance by inserting messages in support of government development programs into dialogue sections and songs. In the opening scene of "Jabang Tutuka," the dalang puts government messages into the mouth of the demon king, Naga Percona, who addresses his minister, Diksakepu:

NAGA PERCONA: Ari saperkara mah, ieu teh kula teh sono. Kaduana ti eta, aya hal-hal anu dibadamikeun, ngan saacana panjang lebar, kaula teh leuwih ti heula nuhun pisan kana naon rupa hal jasa Ki Patih. Jasa senopati, oge sajumlah aparatur nagara. Anu geus ngarojong kana naon rupa hal pamaksudan, di ieu nagara, sabab naon rupa hal pamaksudan teh, ayeuna keur dikeureuyeuh, nyaeta ku jalan gawe nu rancage, kalayan hasilna mucekil, sok sanajan can rata. Tah ku kituna, tangtuna oge di dieu urang sararea teh ngabutuhkeun kasumangetan gawe, anumawi

NAGA PERCONA: First, I've been very lonely lately. And second, there is a matter to be discussed, but before I go any further, I want to thank you for all your hard work. This goes for you, too, my army commander, as well as all the soldiers in this country, for carrying out all kinds of duties in this country. These duties must continue to be carried out, creatively and with a sense of deep satisfaction, despite the fact that not all jobs are created equal. Having said that, it should be clear that we must carry out our tasks with spirit. That's the reason I am asking you to increase production in

Akang umajak menta supaya tingkatkeun eta pagawean dina sagala rupa widang kagiatan, supaya naon rupa hal anu dicita-cita tereh ngawujud.

every field so that all your goals can be attained.

DIKSAKEPU: Dawuh.

DIKSAKEPU: True.

KALAPIDEKSA: Timbalan Gusti.

KALAPIDEKSA: You are wise, your highness.

NAGA PERCONA: Tah kitu Tih! Memang kaula rumasa, yen nepi kajadina nagara ieu teh, ti mimiti tunggu tunggu melak waluh babakan melak samangka, ayeuna sasat jadi nagara anu merdeka, ieu teh hasil gawe nu rancage hasil sarerea, ku kituna ku sarerea deui we urang mumule jeung tanggung jawabna.

NAGA PERCONA: Now, Minister, I feel that the progress of this country, its development from a small district to a powerful country, is due to our creativity. For that reason, we all must protect our gains and act responsibly.

DIKSAKEPU: Timbalan.

DIKSAKEPU: Of course.

NAGA PERCONA: Tah. Ku kituna nganuhunkeun pisan ka Karuhun-Karuhun, anu ngarintis kamerdekaan, anu parantos teu aya dina mangsa ngarebut kemerdekaan nagara. Boh nu aya keneh boh anu parantos maot, atuh mudah-mudahan bae anu parantos aya di alam Nirwana, alam asal poe panjang, muga-muga ditetepkeun dina tempat anu nikmat.

NAGA PERCONA: And we must give thanks to our ancestors who fought for liberty and who died fighting for our nation's independence. To those still alive, as well as those who've passed away, whom we pray have found nirvana, the world of eternity, a most pleasurable place.

DIKSAKEPU: Mudah mudahan.

DIKSAKEPU: Let's hope so.

KALAPIDEKSA: A a amin, Gusti. Amin.

KALAPIDEKSA: Amen, my king, amen.

NAGA PERCONA: Tah kitu, ieuh.

NAGA PERCONA: Now . . .

DIKSAKEPU: Timbalan.

DIKSAKEPU: Yes, sir.

NAGA PERCONA: Urang sarerea ditungtut tanggung jawab. Ku tanggung jawabna ieu geus kaciri jeung karasa ku sarerea mangpaatna.

NAGA PERCONA: I say we must all share in the responsibility for the country's well-being. In this way all may partake of the rewards that we reap.

DIKSAKEPU: Timbalan

NAGA PERCONA: Kari ayeuna mah. Kaula teh inget.

DIKSAKEPU: Timbalan.

NAGA PERCONA: Yen kaula teh moal langgeng hirup.

DIKSAKEPU: Timbalan.

NAGA PERCONA: Sabab ningal kanyataan.

DIKSAKEPU: Kanyataanana?

NAGA PERCONA: Heueuh sakabeh awak-awakan bakal keuna ku ruksak. Satiap ruksak teu bisa dipake.

DIKSAKEPU: Timbalan. Leres.

NAGA PERCONA: Nah, di mana-mana kaula peunggas caringin di buruan, hartina kaula ngemasing pati tumeka ing perlaya.

DIKSAKEPU: Timbalan.

NAGA PERCONA: Saha nu rek nuluykeun?

DIKSAKEPU: Ih . . . iwal ti para nonoman.

NAGA PERCONA: Para nonoman.

DIKSAKEPU: Timbalan.

NAGA PERCONA: Eta anu jadi tulang tonggong nagara.

DIKSAKEPU: Of course.

NAGA PERCONA: As for now, I was thinking . . .

DIKSAKEPU: Yes.

NAGA PERCONA: I'm not going to live forever.

DIKSAKEPU: That is true, sir.

NAGA PERCONA: We must face the reality.

DIKSAKEPU: What reality?

NAGA PERCONA: That everyone's body breaks down and that once one's body has broken down, we're useless.

DIKSAKEPU: Yes, sir. That's very true.

NAGA PERCONA: Suppose I were to die on the battlefield?

DIKSAKEPU: Right.

NAGA PERCONA: Who would carry on?

DIKSAKEPU: Why, the younger generation, of course.

NAGA PERCONA: Yes, the younger generation!

DIKSAKEPU: Indeed, sir.

NAGA PERCONA: They are the mainstay of our country.

References to hard work and increased production are aimed at the many employees of the telephone company, one of the evening's sponsors, as well as the many factory workers who live in the area where the performance took place. As the king says, hard work is crucial for the economic development of the country. Dalang insert these messages "indirectly" (*sacara henteu langsung*), and audiences "feel" the messages unconsciously (*sacara henteu karasa*). Here, the king refers to himself using the familiar *Akang,* or "older brother/friend." The dalang equates the cultivation of a field with the development of the nation using a familiar *paribasa* (proverb).

Later in this scene, the dalang introduces the banyan tree (*caringin*), a symbol of Golkar, the party of the central government. He stresses the importance of the younger generation (who comprise a majority of the audience) through a clever allusion to the collapse of the government ("cutting down a banyan tree"). If the government falls, the younger generation is there to take over. The dalang alludes to the fragile state of the ruling party and thus emphasizes the important collective role of the audience—mostly young males—as active participants in the nation's future.

Messages supporting government programs are woven into songs and played toward the beginning of the performance, when officials are still present.[8] These songs contain messages directed at winning support for development plans. For example, at the end of the first scene the song "Gehger sore" is presented. An excerpt of the text, sung by the juru alok (male singer in the gamelan ensemble), is shown in English translation in the following example:

Warga seni Padalangan	Practitioners of puppetry
Mere conto jeung atikan	Offer examples and teachings
Henteu incah tina aturan	To act with discretion
Nunjang kana pangwangunan	And support development
Seniman jeung seniwati	Male and female artists
Mawa pancen anu pasti	Have their respective duties
Ngabantu pamerentahan	To help the government
Jadi juru penerangan	To serve as information officers

The Dalang as Entertainer

But is entertainment simply the sugar on the pill of ideology? Is entertainment simply a channel for disseminating government messages? Thinking about wayang golek in the domain of the popular may help to answer that question. According to Stuart Hall, "we tend to think of cultural forms as whole and coherent: either wholly corrupt or wholly authentic. Whereas, they are deeply contradictory: they play on contradictions, especially when they function in the domain of the 'popular'" (1981, 233).

The play on contradictions is built into the New Order role of the dalang, who is both government officer and voice of the people. One dalang protests the irony of government programs to "educate" the people, which according to him, actually work to mystify people and make them more ignorant. The same dalang admits that nonparticipation in disseminating government programs amounts to suicide (*bunuh diri*) for performers.

Perhaps nonparticipation would be suicide for dalang precisely because the government is not offering them the option of distancing themselves from the public sphere. Dalang are far too important as vehicles of communication. But perhaps nonparticipation in disseminating government messages could also be suicide for another reason. Nonparticipation, no matter how controlled and constrained, means renouncing all agency in the creation of meaning. That agency would thus become further concentrated into the hands of the government. Further, a dalang's popularity hinges on his ability to throw these contradictions into relief—to present a dialogue wherein opposing forces are confronted, debated, and clarified.

Even under the most extreme conditions of repression, dalang cannot function as transparent, unconflicted vehicles of state representation. Rather, as agents of representation, they take on the contradictions and tensions inherent in the state's attempt to relate unilaterally to the people. The sphere of the popular as embodied by the dalang also embodies the hesitations, resistance, oppositions, and accommodations employed by the people in their encounter with the state. That is, in order for the dalang to communicate with an audience whose position is far from identical to that of the state, he must create meaning that is not simply dictated by government mandate but, in fact, inflected by the people's struggle against such exercise of unilateral authority. In this sense, the communicative space occupied by the dalang embodies the popular in addressing fundamental tensions within the social fabric.

While a performance of wayang golek is expected to indulge audiences with the beauty of its music, movement, and language, entertainment seems to exceed the realm of pure aesthetic judgment in creating pleasure not through the static formal qualities of performance but through its immediate access to local issues and everyday matters that preoccupy Sun-

danese. In thus taking a central place in the communicative intentions of the dalang, entertainment creates a space from which the voices, preferences, and interests of the audience emerge and become represented. In their desire to entertain and to please their audiences, dalang become vehicles for public representations of the people's desires and interests in the realm of culture, even when popular enfranchisement is otherwise repressed in the realms of politics and economics. These tensions and contradictions are evident in the performance of the clown servants (panakawan) in "Jabang Tutuka."

Panakawan

Four panakawan traditionally appear in performances of Sundanese wayang golek: Semar and his sons Cepot, Dawala, and (less often) Gareng. Cepot and Dawala, the most frequently used and beloved of the group, are more lifelike than other puppets in their iconography, movement, and speech. Both puppets are dressed in common village attire, as opposed to the elaborate court attire of most characters in a play. Both puppets are moved freely without the prescribed stylized movements of other characters (excluding ogres) and move without musical accompaniment more than other characters. In addition, they perform the popular dance style jaipongan and the movements of penca silat, which link them to the people.

Spectators identify with these figures because they move among the people, royalty, and gods with unparalleled ease. The panakawan represent the values of the people, yet do not share the people's restricted social mobility. For example, Cepot uses vocabulary considered obscene (*cawokah*), no matter to whom he is speaking. In the following passage from "Jabang Tutuka," one of the musicians (Ewon) engages in a comedy skit with Cepot. Ewon represents genteel society and chastises Cepot for using obscene language in public; Ewon even uses the Dutch/Indonesian *verboden* (forbidden) to scold Cepot for using the word *kanjut* in public. *Kanjut* commonly means scrotum, but it can have a variety of meanings, as in the following example (text that appears in italics and brackets indicates musicians' parts):

[EWON: Nyebut kanjut kitu teu meunang Kang. Eta teh, kotor!]

CEPOT: Heuh?!

[EWON: Verboden!]

CEPOT: Make jeung kotor teh naha? Da kanjut mah euweuh lemesna siah? Na ari aing panggih jeung kanjut kudu nyebut Letnan? Pek pikir. Panggih jeung kanjut teh kudu nyebut personalia? Teu bisa. Kanjut mah kanjut we, deuleu! Da euweuh lemesna. Heueuh. Panggih jeung kanjut teh euleuh itu lapang gul euh, teu bisa! Lapang golf, teu bisa! Kanjut we, kanjut mah. Euweuh gantina. Asa geus jadi. Sugan panggih jeung kanjut teh, euleuh itu cotong. Henteu. Pek!

Lain jorang cawokah, urang Sunda mah da carawokah. Kanjut, kanjut wae digeunggeureuhkeun. Basa Sunda ta teh deuleu. Lamun urang rek ngawinkeun anak bungsu, tah da nu cikalna dipangnanggapkeun wayang, nu kadua dipangnanggapkeun reog, nu katilu calung, tah ayeuna mah moal hajat deui, ku lantaran dek ngawinkeun bungsu moal hajat deui, mani sagala ditanggap, sagala ditabeuh, nu kitu disebutna mukreukeun ti kanjut, dumeh bungsu. Tuh, kanjut kababawa, teu jorang.

Pek, dina jaman baheula, jaman Jawara aya nu nangtang gelut. Sok saha lah nu laer kanjutna datang ka dieu? Harti "laer kanjut" di dinya, nu gede wawanen.

[EWON: Saying the word *kanjut* like that—it isn't allowed. It's dirty!]

CEPOT: Really?!

[EWON: You shouldn't say it.]

CEPOT: Why is it dirty? You have to understand that for the word *kanjut* there is no refined term. If I see a kanjut, shall I call it a lieutenant? Think about it! If I see a kanjut, shall I call it a military personnel? A kanjut is just a kanjut and that's that. There's no refined term. No, siree. If you see a kanjut, should you say, "Wow, a soccer field! Or a golf course!" You can't do it! No substitutes. It's already precise. Let's say you happen to see a guy's kanjut and you say, "Wow, that's quite a hat you have!" Come on, get real!

A kanjut is simply a kanjut. That's the Sundanese language. Let's say you have three kids. When you start marrying them off, the marriage of the first-born should be celebrated with a wayang performance, the second with a *reog* comedy, and the third with a *calung* ensemble. After that the parents don't have any more need to scrounge about looking for more funds. The problem is over. It is, as they say, *mukreukeun ti kanjut.* "It's in the bag," as it were. Is that dirty?

Look, in past times, when men went off to war they always said *laer kanjutna* when leaving. "Let's go!" Here *kanjut* has the connotation of bravery. Those guys had

Urang rek ngaliwat peuting, ngaliwat astana, embung, mugen da sieun, ceuk kolot mah, baheula. Ah, sia mah kanjut (di)na punduk. Hartina "kanjut na punduk" teh borangan. Panyecep orok we, panyecep orok, pan sok ditundana dina kanjut kundang. Ma enya aing nyebut kanjut Ewon!? Kanjut kundang we!

balls. When passing a graveyard at night and you get scared, say, people will say you're kanjut. But in this instance *kanjut* doesn't mean brave; it means cowardice, that you don't have balls. Financial gifts for newborn children are stored in a *kanjut kundang*. Should I call it a *kanjut Ewon?* What else are you supposed to call it, when that's the word for it?!

The Sundanese language, the primary marker of Sundanese identity, operates through several different levels, depending on the status of the person one is addressing.[9] One way of reinforcing class status is through these language levels. Cepot rejects proper subordination and effectively levels class distinctions by insisting that there is only one way to say *kanjut*. The term cannot be translated into a more refined form, and its nontranslatability enforces a kind of linguistic equality in which everyone must speak the language at the same level. According to the dalang, this passage urges audiences to see things for what they are (Asep Sunandar Sunarya, pers. comm., September 19, 1994). As Cepot says, a kanjut is not a lieutenant, a soccer field, or a hat. Rather, a kanjut is simply a kanjut (fig. 4.1).

Cepot also points out that regional vernaculars are inextricably bound up with local experience. Cepot shows that language is an extension of people's experience that cannot be separated from what it means to be Sundanese. To evoke this intimate relationship between language and experience, he invokes the similar embeddedness of Sundanese ritual and cultural symbols. Through juxtaposition, Cepot suggests that the hajat (ceremonial feast and celebration of life events), *cotong* (a hat used by rice farmers), Jawara (an outlaw hero), performing arts (wayang, reog, and calung), activities surrounding birth (contributions for a newborn child), and objects used in healing rituals (kanjut kundang) could no more be separated from Sundanese experience and identity than language could. *Kanjut* may not refer to matters of high culture, but it remains central to Sundanese experience notwithstanding. He is not only able to indicate the leveling of specific hierarchies, he is also able to communicate a nonelite

Fig. 4.1. Asep Sunandar holding the wayang puppet Cepot (*right*), 2001

message of affirmation, claiming authenticity for all Sundanese experience, even the most common ones.

Humor also enables the dalang to recite government slogans, while at the same time making them appear questionable. The government hopes that these slogans will be remembered by the populace, but people realize that they rarely are. The dalang's impulse to entertain and satisfy the demands of the audience for entertainment, above all, through the use of humor, causes him to speak in a voice that is distinctly resistant to the slogans and unilateral mandates of government authority. In the following scene, Cepot engages in a dialogue with the musicians as a group (nayaga) and individual musicians of the troupe (including Asep Ana, Ewon, Endi, and Engkus). The troupe performs the following skit, which I heard, with slight variation, in several performances:

CEPOT: Jasana, jelema mah jasana. Da ceuk dina paribasa oge, "gajah . . . paeh . . . ngandung . . . gajah paeh maung belangna gading. Jadi jasana manusa ku maung gading belang gajah" . . . tuh, ceuk paribasa tah. Naha make ah?!

[*NAYAGA: Lain, teu baleg. Ngaco, ngaco!*]

CEPOT: Ngaco kumaha? Da paribasa mah kitu deuleu. "Gajah paeh maung belang gading, belang jadi gajah belang gading, sok. Gadingan. Jadi gajah gadingan belangna maung jadi jasa manusa ku maung. Jadi manusa teh gadingan."

[*NAYAGA: Hey!*]

CEPOT: Na kumaha benerna atuh sia?

[*ASEP ANA: Nu baleg nyarita teh, ngarah kaharti ku sarerea. Kieu, yeuh pikecapeunana.*]

CEPOT: Deeds—people, and their deeds. There's a saying about it: "An elephant . . . dies . . . means . . . elephant dies tiger stripes tusks," which means a person's deeds by the tiger tusks stripes elephant. Yes, that's what the proverb says. Why are you guys making an uproar?!

[MUSICIANS: That's not only incorrect, it's ridiculous!]

CEPOT: What do you mean, ridiculous? That's the right proverb, isn't it? "Dead elephant tiger stripes tusks, stripes become elephant stripes tusks." So a tusked elephant the striped tiger becomes a person's deeds by the tiger. So people have tusks.

[MUSICIANS: Come on!]

CEPOT: So what is the correct way of saying it?

[ASEP ANA: The correct way, one that everyone will understand . . .]

CEPOT: Sok benerkeun, atuh, ari enya dewek salah. Wani nyalahkeun, kudu wani menerkeun.

[*ASEP ANA: "Gajah paeh ninggalkeun gading . . ."*]

CEPOT: Hmmmh.

[*ASEP ANA: "Maung paeh ninggalkeun belang. Manusa paeh ninggalkeun jasa, ka nagara, bangsa, jeung agama."*]

CEPOT: Heueuh da dina hate ge kitu aing teh. Da dina hate mah "gajah maungna gading belang . . . ga . . ." Na kumaha ta teh Ewon, atuh benerkeun aing teh, ari enya mah salah.

[*EWON: Dengekeun, Kang. "Gajah paeh ninggalkeun ceulina anu kacida rebingna . . ." Dengekeun!*]

CEPOT: Ah, sia mah goblog, mamawa kana ceuli.

[*EWON: Heueuh ceuli gajah rebing. Eh, "mun bangkong paeh ninggalkeun kumisna eujeung matana anu bolotot." Dengekeun! "Manusa paeh ninggalkeun cotom, pacul, suling . . ." ka bangsana pangmereskeun, kitu.*]

CEPOT: Ah goblog, siah mah goblog. Lain kana kadua ngamajukeun ka aing teh. Cing ieu tah tukang rebab anu baleg. Manehna mah ahli sastra geus kolot ongkoh.

[*ENDI: Anu benerna pisan, Akang?*]

CEPOT: Anu benerna pisan, tah kumaha tukang rebab? Lain nundutan wae siah!

[*ENDI: Anu benerna pisan mah, gajah jeung maung teh henteu pararaeh, sabab ditabeuhan ku nu bogana.*

CEPOT: Go ahead and correct me if I'm wrong, but if you say it's wrong, you also have to say what's right.

[ASEP ANA: "A dead elephant leaves behind its tusks."]

CEPOT: Okay . . .

[ASEP ANA: "A dead tiger leaves behind its stripes, and a dead person leaves behind his deeds for the nation, the race, and the religion."]

CEPOT: That's what I meant in my heart. In my heart I said, "an elephant tiger's tusks stripes . . ." Wait, how's that? Ewon! Help me out if I'm wrong.

[EWON: Listen to me: "A dead elephant leaves behind huge ears." Listen!]

CEPOT: You idiot, what are you talking about ears for?

[EWON: Come on, an elephant has huge ears. And "when a frog dies it leaves behind its grin and staring eyes. While people leave behind hats, plows, and flutes." Go ahead and correct me if I'm wrong!]

CEPOT: You're such a jerk. You're no help to me at all. Let's ask the rebab player to help out. He's a man of letters, and old besides.

[ENDI: Do you want the whole truth?]

CEPOT: Yes, the whole truth! Tell me! Don't just sit there looking tired!

[ENDI: The truth is that elephants and tigers don't die, because their owners beat them. I saw some

Lamun nu bogana nya katingali pisan ku abdi. Ngudag-ngudag domba. Dugikeun ka panayagan sadayana teh raripuh, Kang. Ampir kawalahan. Bayangkeun we ti Jelekong ka Dayeuh Kolot sakitu jauhna tah balap karung . . .]

CEPOT: Aing mah titah ngadongeng, naon, ieu teh? Paribasa belegug! Huwuh! Lumpat kana balap karung ari sia. Cing cing itu tuh, tukang jengglong nu pangtukangna tuh. Cing benerkeun aing, basa teh, paribasa teh kumaha ta teh. Kus!

[ENGKUS: *Eta "gajah paeh" akang!*]

CEPOT: Heueuh.

[ENGKUS: *Kieu, ieuh.*]

CEPOT: Kumaha?

[ENGKUS: *"Gajah paeh." "Man, Man," ceuk Cece ka Oman "cenah mah ceuk batur Oman teh ngewa boga rupa jiga gajah." Ari Oman disebut kitu teh lain ambek, kalah ka ngajawab. Kieu pokna: "Keun bae Ce, da jelema mah kitu biasana. Satiap aya anu resep, teu anggang tina wawangunan." Teraskeun tong, Kang?*]

CEPOT: Tinggal maung!?

[ENGKUS: *Ari maung, cenah paeh cenah henteu, da kuring ge can ka ditu ngan lamun akang aya waktu urang teang ka ditu.*]

CEPOT: Ayeuna?

[ENGKUS: *Enya.*]

CEPOT: Hayu, ah.

[ENGKUS: *Hayu atuh.*]

guys chasing their sheep once. Even for musicians things are tough. Imagine for yourself, from Jelekong to Dayeuh Kolot, running that distance in a sack race . . .] (MUSICIANS *laugh.*)

CEPOT: Did I ask for a story? What is this? It's supposed to be a proverb, dummy, and you suddenly start talking about a sack race! How about him, the *jenglong* player at the far back of the stage? Help us correct this proverb, would you?

[ENGKUS: You mean "dead elephant"?]

CEPOT: Right.

[ENGKUS: Like this.]

CEPOT: How does it go?

[ENGKUS: "Dead elephant." "Man, man," says Cece to Oman, "they say you don't like people saying you have the shape of an elephant." But when Oman hears that he doesn't get mad and he says to Cece, "You can't let it bother you because that's what people are like."]

CEPOT: So what happened to the tiger?

[ENGKUS: Some say he's dead, others say he's not, but I didn't see it myself. If you have time, maybe we can pay it a visit.]

CEPOT: Now?

[ENGKUS: Yes.]

CEPOT: Come on then.

[ENGKUS: Let's go.]

While the audience is likely to be aware of a proverb that the government frequently repeats regarding what people and elephants leave behind when they die, the prolonged dialogue supposedly meant to be yet another instance of the proverb's repetition merely succeeds in confounding its meaning and proper articulation. Instead, humor subverts the proverb's terse message by poking fun at the absurd reference to an elephant. Humor thus fixates obsessively on the bulky image of the elephant with its huge ears, which inexplicably calls up the image of the grinning frog with staring eyes. Humor precludes purposeful completion in foreclosing on the articulation of the nationalist message of the proverb about performing "deeds" for the benefit of the "nation, the people, and the religion."

In the performance of "Jabang Tutuka," what appears to be a highly constricted site for social and political debate actually becomes a forum for rather direct criticism against powerful officials of the state. To evade censorship, political messages are interwoven with humor and satire. In wayang golek, criticism is directed at individuals and programs but not institutions. For example, around the time of this performance the Bapindo bank had received favors from members of the president's cabinet that allowed banking executives to embezzle huge sums of money from central government coffers. The banking scandal cost the government, and the people, trillions of rupiah. In the performance of "Jabang Tutuka," Cepot alludes to a certain highly placed government official who gave *referensi* (references or favors) too freely. *Referensi* is a term that came into popular usage around the time of the Bapindo scandal. In the following example, Cepot shifts from Sundanese into Indonesian, the official language of the state, implying that the problem is associated with the central government:

CEPOT: Nu matak lamun deuk nitah kudu ka ahlina. Di mana-mana mararaneh nitah ka lain ahlina, maka tunggu karuksakanana. Pan, kitu! Pecakan we siah nitah nyupiran ka tukang macul, da amuradul tah siah mobil teh. Hmmmh. Heueuh, kitu. Matak sing ati-ati oge. Ayeuna ceuk na-

CEPOT: So put your faith in the experts. If you put your faith in someone who's not qualified, you can expect disaster. Go ahead and ask a plow driver to drive your car; your car is going to get wrecked, right? You have to be careful. As for the country, "according to the rules, a leader must

gara. Ceuk "aturan menjadikan pemimpin itu harus bersih en berwibawa. Da nu bersih jeung berwibawa mah, moal gampang mere referensi."

be honest and authoritative. Someone who is honest and authoritative is not going to give a recommendation to just anyone."

In another section of his extended monologue, Cepot alludes to the anxiety that people feel about the upcoming presidential succession (*suksesi*) and the future leadership of the country as Suharto ages. The entire commentary is delivered through humor, as illustrated in the following example:

CEPOT: Sing gableg rumasa sia mah di mana paeh, tah, di mana paeh dihakan cacing. Dikubur, tah, deuleu. Tapi dewek kadang-kadang dewek mah ka musium, jadi barang antik, saratus taun deui dewek aya keneh pada neangan.

Tapi sia beak. Nya. Jelema teu ngeunah dagingna. Sok, siah. Teu ngeunah dagingna jelema mah. Naon atuh, singhoreng jasana. Jasana tong boro panayagan, tuh Bapak Presiden Suharto, Bapak Presiden di mana parantos maot da diusir atuh ku Ibu Tien. Dilarang ada di rumah.

Ayeuna bandingkeun layon Pak Suharto jeung bangke teri nu di pasar, hargaan keneh mana? Hargaan keneh teri. Naon atuh!? Da teu ngeunah dagingna! Sihoreng jasana, duh jasana Pak Suharto nepi kagungan gelar Bapak Pembangunan, nya. Sok, siah. Bapak Pembangunan.

CEPOT: You have to be self-critical, because when you die and are lying in the grave your body is going to be consumed by worms. But not me! I could be put in a museum or become a valuable artifact that, one hundred years from now, people are going to look at and admire.

But you? You're finished, right? Human flesh isn't even worth eating. It doesn't taste good. So what is left of you? Your deeds, that's what. Think about the president, Mr. Suharto. When he leaves this world, he's going to be taken from his house and there's no way his wife, Mrs. Tien, is going to allow him back in.

Now compare the president's corpse with a small anchovy you can pick up at the market. What's more valuable? The anchovy! And why? Because human meat doesn't taste good! But the deeds of President Suharto, who's now called the Father of Development, are going to live on.

In a general discussion about work, deeds, and action, Cepot makes the point that the president is simply a normal human being. As a normal human being, he is not invincible. Rather, the audience is treated to an image of Suharto's dead and worthless body being consumed by worms and disposed of by his own wife! While such a comment may seem mild compared to public political discourse in Europe or the United States, it has a special salience in a country where free speech was severely limited and public protest banned.[10] The reference to the death of Suharto demonstrates the significant role that humor and entertainment play in communicating views that are critical to the state.

Because of their ability to reach and influence the masses, dalang are called upon to communicate the objectives of the Indonesian state to integrate Sundanese audiences into the national formation. However, the objectives and programs of the state do not flow without interruption to the people. The tension between the interests of the Indonesian state and those of Sundanese people is dramatized by the dalang's impulse to entertain his audience. In effect, his own interest in entertaining Sundanese supercedes his commitment to transmitting the objectives of the nation-state. Sundanese audiences' possible resistance to any incorporation and co-optation into state objectives, presented as "shared" and "held in common by all" through the discourse of national unity, becomes a determining factor in entertaining the audience.

Audience pleasure in this case is predicated on asserting Sundanese identity as independent of some homogenous national formation. Sundanese identity, therefore, is expressed not as a petrified, static quality that can be described, enumerated, and authenticated. Rather, Sundanese identity emerges in confrontations and negotiations with narratives that suppress difference in order to privilege forms of identification with and allegiance to the nation above all others. Sundanese identity in this case represents a challenge to the New Order national imaginary. Sundanese identity can thus be analyzed not through a positivist approach that describes definite metaphysical traits but rather through a dialectical approach that isolates Sundanese identity in terms of its negation, fragmentation, and erasure produced by imposed narratives of national homogeneity. This is not to say that Sundanese culture did not exist prior to the efforts of the state to

negate and suppress it. In the face of the state's efforts to impose identity from above in the name of nationality, however, it is essential to define an oppositional Sundaneseness that created breathing spaces from which to secure cultural authority and alternative forms of representation.

Given the extreme exclusion of most people from the sphere of political process and representation in New Order Indonesia, wayang golek emerged as a possible means for people to secure some vestige of control over their cultural life. While it was much vilified by officials and elite critics as a debasement of the high ideals of performance, entertainment actually animated the vital link between wayang golek and the popular. Through entertainment and humor, dalang raised critical questions in performance about the leadership and future of Indonesia's New Order, enabling spectators to participate in narratives that challenged the hegemony of the state. In the restricted public sphere of Indonesia's New Order government, entertainment and humor were essential for opening up spaces in which intersecting narratives and conflicting ideological tendencies could be expressed.[11]

Chapter 5

THE SPECTACLE OF SOUND

IN THE EIGHTIES new infusions of capital allowed superstar dalang to incorporate gamelan capable of playing pieces in a multiplicity of tuning systems (laras) on one set of instruments. The conventional gamelan for accompanying wayang golek is tuned to *laras salendro,* a five-tone tuning system composed of roughly equivalent intervals. Gamelan that I have termed "multilaras" gamelan are tuned in such a way that musicians may choose from a variety of other Sundanese pentatonic tuning systems, which are all playable on one set of instruments. These large capital-intensive gamelan helped to constitute a small group of performers—superstars—who dominated wayang golek performance. As superstars came to enjoy positions of power in the field of wayang golek they were able to exert a high level of influence and control over the practice of the art form. Expanded instrumentation brought about corresponding changes in musical repertoire, playing style, and social organization of troupes. In the nineties, multilaras gamelan began to define the norms and standards of musical practice among the troupes of superstar dalang, and they were subsequently incorporated as a dominant musical practice.[1]

The development of new musical instruments is a way to analyze relations of power represented in wayang golek. In one sense, the new ensemble itself—its spectacular sonic resources, grandiose visual appearance, and extensive musical repertoire—seems to encode power in an immediate visceral

way. In the following analysis, however, power is not something that instruments, images, or sounds inherently possess. Rather, power is a social relation among people that is mediated by the language of instruments.

In the eighties, musical instruments were visual and sonic signifiers, as well as means of production, that helped propel certain performers to a position of dominance in the genre. As multilaras gamelan became the norm among superstar dalang and their troupes in the nineties, instruments helped audiences and hosts make distinctions between classes of performers (superstars versus nonsuperstars). Multilaras gamelan became a crucial axis of division between marginalized performers and valorized superstar dalang. The development of new gamelan was more than just another creative aesthetic endeavor by highly talented performers. The increased popularity of multilaras gamelan was connected to the concentration of wealth and resources among top performers. Multilaras gamelan as symbolic capital helped to establish hegemonic relations within the political economy of wayang golek, which directly regulated access in the public sphere to certain kinds of performers, practices, and representations.

Initial Encounters

Upon first investigation, multilaras gamelan appear to signal a radical departure from the conventional Sundanese gamelan salendro in terms of instrumentation, tuning, playing technique, and musical repertoire. For example, one popular wayang golek troupe uses a gamelan with a ten-tone octave that may be used to play pieces in seven distinct laras. In contrast to gamelan salendro, one immediately notices the larger size of the fixed-pitch instruments used in multilaras gamelan. For example, the bonang for a conventional gamelan salendro has ten kettle gongs arranged on a single rack (fig. 5.1). In a multilaras set, the bonang and the *rincik,* its higher-octave counterpart, have as many as twice the number of kettle gongs, which are arranged on several instrument stands especially constructed for the set (fig. 5.2). The *kenong,* an instrument often excluded altogether from the conventional gamelan salendro, has two or three additional racks to hold the large kettle gongs (fig. 5.3). The four saron instruments in a gamelan salendro ensemble

Fig. 5.1. Bonang, gamelan salendro

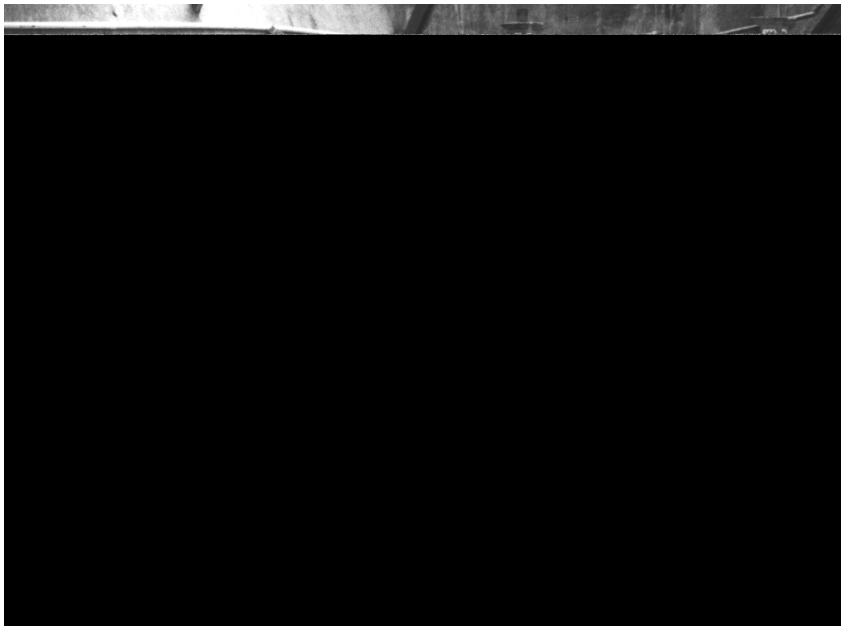


Fig. 5.2. Bonang, multilaras gamelan

Fig. 5.3. Kenong, multilaras gamelan

generally have six or seven metal slabs, or keys (fig. 5.4), whereas the multilaras instrument has eleven to fourteen keys (fig. 5.5). Increasing the number of kettle gongs or keys does not extend an instrument's range but rather increases the number of tones within the octave.

The enlargement of instruments suggests a striking alteration which has far-reaching implications for musical practice. However, according to dalang and wayang golek musicians, the differences are mainly material and not conceptual. I asked Dalang Sapa'at Suwanda (1930–96), who performed wayang golek using a multilaras set of instruments during the seventies, about the "invention" (*ciptaan*) of his multilaras gamelan and he reminded me of the widespread belief that gamelan was "invented" by the nine wali who spread Islam throughout the island of Java. His work was simply an "arrangement" (*susunan*) of tones that were "already there" (pers. comm., May 3, 1994). Dalang Dede Amung Sutarya, a popular contemporary dalang, concurred that the tones were already present in the music of wayang golek but not yet playable on the fixed-pitch instruments of the gamelan (pers. comm., July 18, 1994).

Fig. 5.4. Saron, gamelan salendro

Fig. 5.5. Saron, multilaras gamelan

In order to clarify these statements it is important to realize that within the context of wayang golek accompanied by gamelan salendro, it is common to hear tones and entire melodic passages from non-salendro tuning systems sung by the dalang, sinden, and other musicians, and played on the variable-pitch instrument of the ensemble, the rebab.[2] In Figure 5.6, the first phrase of the kakawen (mood song) "Sri Tinon" is sung in the *sorog* tuning system (laras sorog) and accompanied by patterns played in the salendro tuning system (laras salendro) on a small subset of the gamelan ensemble, including the gambang (xylophone). I have transcribed the fixed-pitch accompaniment patterns for the gambang, with pitches approximately equivalent to Western pitches [a, g, f, d, and c].[3] The vocal melody

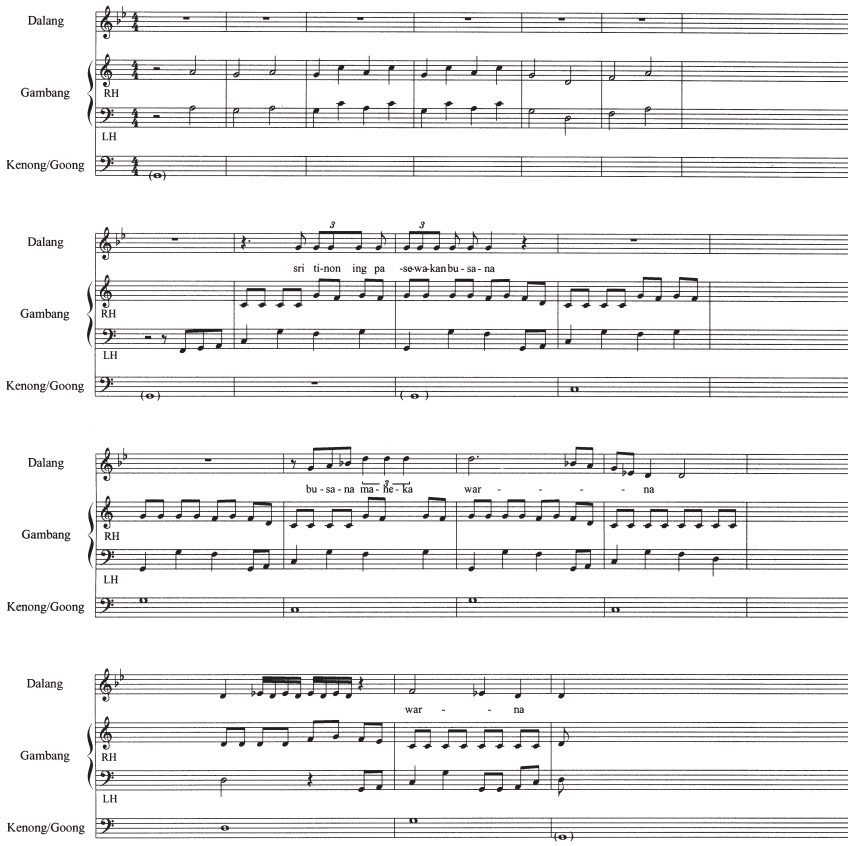


Fig. 5.6. Kakawen "Sri Tinon," laras sorog salendro

is in laras sorog, with pitches approximately equivalent to Western pitches [a, g, e♭, d, and b♭]. The transcription also indicates the main structural tones that are played on the kenong, and goong tones, indicated by parentheses, which mark phrase endings. Musicians describe the laras for this example as laras sorog salendro, indicating that laras in this case refers to the resultant combination of tones produced on both fixed- and variable-pitch instruments.

Historical Precedents: The Work of Machjar Koesoemadinata and Sapa'at Suwanda

Despite the fact that non-salendro tones were already present in Sundanese wayang golek performances accompanied by gamelan salendro, there is clearly a difference between the multilaras concept in performance (as demonstrated by the transcription of variable-pitch and fixed-pitch instruments above) and the organological kind that emerged later. Although multilaras gamelan did not become part of a dominant performance practice until the late eighties, the concepts and even the theoretical precedents for multilaras gamelan had existed earlier. The first multilaras gamelan, based on a seventeen-tone system, was created in 1969 by Machjar Koesoemadinata (respectfully known as Pa Machjar), a music educator and theorist (Weintraub 2001a). This gamelan, named Ki Pembayun (First-born, progenitor), was the culmination of several decades of work devoted to demonstrating Pa Machjar's theories of tone and scale systems in Sundanese music. Practicing musicians from in and around Bandung were commissioned to play Ki Pembayun in preparation for the International Ramayana Festival that was scheduled to take place in Pandaan, central Java, in 1971. According to musicians who participated, the gamelan was too difficult to play, and most withdrew (Entis Sutisna, pers. comm., February 1995; Entjar Tjarmedi, November 19, 1994; Sapa'at Suwanda, May 3, 1994). Pa Machjar's Ki Pembayun was never actually played outside of rehearsals and the instruments have since disappeared.

Pa Machjar's formulations nevertheless circulated among gamelan musicians who eventually incorporated his ideas into practice during the

seventies. The most important figure in this process was Sapa'at Suwanda, an innovative dalang who was familiar with the Ki Pembayun experiment (pers. comm., May 3, 1994; Suwanda 1972, 24–27).[4] In the sixties and seventies Pa Sapa'at was a professional dalang who, like other dalang, competed intensely for performance opportunities, territories, and sponsors. As the field of wayang performance became more individualized and exclusionary during the seventies, it became necessary for dalang to develop individual styles in order to differentiate themselves from other similarly highly talented performers. In 1970 he designed and built the gamelan LS Galihpakuan (Galihpakuan artistic group), a gamelan that could be used to play pieces in laras pelog, salendro, and degung. With an expanded performance repertoire of pieces in different laras, he would be "different from all the other [dalang]" (pers. comm., May 3, 1994).

Multilaras gamelan prospered in the environment of a wayang golek troupe where musicians practiced, developed repertoire, and experimented as an ensemble over a sustained period of time. The musicians, many of them students of Pa Sapa'at, were young, flexible, and obliged to learn the repertoire as directed by the dalang. After using LS Galihpakuan in performance, Pa Sapa'at's popularity dramatically increased. Criticism seemed only to increase its novelty: "there was much reaction, they said it ruined the art of our ancestors. But I walk looking straight forward like a deaf pig. It's always like that: for every action there's a reaction" (Suwanda 1993, 9).

In the seventies multilaras gamelan signified a kind of avant-garde experiment because no other dalang owned a set. According to Pa Sapa'at, hosts commissioned his troupe over others because the gamelan was sure to attract crowds. Such popularity enhanced the status of the host and brought particular notice to the event being celebrated. In addition, his performance fees doubled around this time. At the time, the majority of dalang did not own gamelan; rather, the host would arrange to rent or borrow a neighborhood gamelan for a specific event. With the advent of multilaras gamelan, it was necessary for the dalang to transport his own set of instruments to and from the performance location, which might be several hundred miles away from his home. The added capital necessary to purchase the materials and build the instruments, as well as to transport the set, thus necessitated (and ensured) a substantially higher performance fee.

After he retired from performing in the early eighties, Pa Sapa'at worked as a gamelan tuner and teacher. A younger generation of dalang recognized that multilaras gamelan held great artistic potential, which could be used as a mark of distinction in the competitive environment of wayang golek. In the eighties those few dalang who were able to acquire the considerable resources eventually purchased multilaras sets. In 1990, superstar Asep Sunandar purchased gamelan LS Galihpakuan for fifteen million rupiah (approx. $10,000), retuned it, and renamed it Ki Barong.[5] His troupe, Giri Harja III, has used it in performance since.[6]

The Instruments of Gamelan Ki Barong

During the eighties, dalang's interest in multilaras gamelan signaled a growing desire for innovation, variety, and differentiation conditioned by market competition among wayang performers. Multilaras gamelan became symbols of power and prestige that served to enhance the reputation of the host and the celebrity of the dalang. A large and imposing stage indicates elaborate preparations by the host of the celebration. The display of wealth and status has as much to do with the grandiose appearance of the multilaras gamelan as it does with the actual sound. Even before the group plays the instruments, the spectators' interest is aroused by the large stage and the expanded arrangement and sheer size of the gamelan. Many of the sets have doubled instruments, like the kenong (see fig. 5.3), and some incorporate nontraditional Sundanese wayang instruments including *slenthem,* and Western cymbals, as well as *suling* (bamboo flute) and sometimes even *ḳacapi* (zither), which are traditionally used in Sundanese musical genres that employ non-salendro tuning systems.

One can get a sense of this enlargement in instrument size by comparing the physical configurations of the conventional saron with the same instrument type in a multilaras ensemble. A typical six-key saron in laras salendro is shown in figure 5.7, along with respective pitch names and cipher designations. Pitches are arranged from high to low, with the highest pitch on the player's right. In some cases, there is more than one name for a key, which may reflect regional preferences.[7]

5 singgul	4 bem/ galimer	3 panelu	2 kenong/ loloran	1 barang tugu/nem	5̇ singgul/ petit

player's left----------player's right

FIG. 5.7. Six-key saron, laras salendro

The multilaras saron in Ki Barong has thirteen keys.[8] In figure 5.8, each box corresponds to a key on the thirteen-key saron, made up of a ten-tone octave and three octave duplications. Numbers assigned to keys, called *nomor wilahan* (*nomor* = number; *wilah* = key), are used by musicians in the troupe strictly for convenience.[9] On the saron, the three keys on the far right duplicate other keys an octave lower (for example, key 11 is an octave duplication of key 1). Each laras consists of a pitch set of five tones chosen from among the ten tones in the octave. At this writing, seven distinct laras are possible on the instruments. In figure 5.8, tones in boldface correspond to tones belonging to laras indicated on the left-hand side.

While the composite chart shows the basic configurations for each laras, it does not indicate pitch degrees within the laras. Pitch degrees are not tied to absolute pitches but are moveable within a tuning system (similar to a moveable doh system). To describe pitch degrees, musicians use solfège, pitch names, and ciphers interchangeably. In figure 5.9, "saron charts" for four individual laras illustrate pitch sets played on the saron as well as corresponding pitch degrees used for pieces played by the troupe Giri Harja III. Pitch degrees and abbreviations are indicated as follows: ba = barang/1, ke = kenong/2, pa = panelu/3, be = bem/4, si = singgul/5.

Laras salendro (fig. 5.9a) is the starting point for the conceptualization of multilaras gamelan because it is the basic tuning system for all wayang golek performances.[10] The pitch barang in laras pelog *jawar* (fig. 5.9b) is identical to the pitch barang in laras salendro; the intervallic structure of pelog jawar tones follows accordingly. Laras with a common-pitch barang

Laras	nomor wilahan——>												
salendro	**11**	10	**9**	8	**7**	6	**5**	4	**3**	2	**1**	10	**9**
sorog pelog degung	11	**10**	**9**	8	7	**6**	5	**4**	**3**	2	1	**10**	**9**
pelog degung	11	**10**	**9**	8	**7**	6	5	**4**	**3**	2	1	**10**	**9**
pelog jawar	11	**10**	9	**8**	**7**	6	5	**4**	**3**	2	1	**10**	9
mataram	11	**10**	**9**	8	7	**6**	**5**	4	**3**	2	1	**10**	**9**
liwung	11	**10**	9	**8**	7	**6**	5	**4**	**3**	2	1	**10**	9
sorog pelog jawar	11	10	9	**8**	**7**	6	5	**4**	**3**	**2**	1	10	9

Approx. Western pitch	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d	d/d♯	d♯/e	f/f♯	f♯/g	g/g♯	g♯/a	a♯/b	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d

FIG. 5.8. Configurations of laras on gamelan Ki Barong (saron)

a. *salendro* (ba = 1S)

pitch degree	**5**		**4**		**3**		**2**		**1**		**5̇**		**4̇**
pitch name	**si**		**be**		**pa**		**ke**		**ba**		**si**		**be**
nomor wilahan	**11**	10	**9**	8	**7**	6	**5**	4	**3**	2	**1**	10	**9**

b. *pelog jawar* (ba = 1S)

pitch degree		**5**		**4**	**3**			**2**	**1**			**5̇**	
pitch name		**si**		**be**	**pa**			**ke**	**ba**			**si**	
nomor wilahan	11	**10**	9	**8**	**7**	6	5	**4**	**3**	2	1	**10**	9

c. *sorog pelog degung* (ba = 2P)

pitch degree		**4**	**3**			**2**		**1**	**5̇**			**4̇**	**3̇**
pitch name		**be**	**pa**			**ke**		**ba**	**si**			**be**	**pa**
nomor wilahan	11	**10**	**9**	8	7	**6**	5	**4**	**3**	2	1	**10**	**9**

d. *sorog pelog degung* (ba = 2S)

pitch degree	**4**	**3**			**2**		**1**	**5̇**			**4̇**	**3̇**	
pitch name	**be**	**pa**			**ke**		**ba**	**si**			**be**	**pa**	
nomor wilahan	**11**	**10**	9	8	**7**	6	**5**	**4**	3	2	**1**	**10**	9

Approx. Western pitch	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d	d/d♯	d♯/e	f/f♯	f♯/g	g/g♯	g♯/a	a♯/b	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d

FIG. 5.9. Four saron charts, gamelan Ki Barong

are said to be *tumbuk barang,* which may be indicated as ba = 1Salendro, or ba = 1S. Because of the fixed intervallic structure of tones on the fixed-pitch instruments, it is not always possible to play melodies in a particular laras using the tumbuk barang.[11] On gamelan Ki Barong, for example, it is impossible to play a configuration of pitches in laras sorog pelog degung, in which the barang pitch is identical to barang salendro because the appropriate intervallic structure does not exist. Therefore, musicians move the barang to other pitches.[12] In laras sorog pelog degung (fig. 5.9c) the pitch barang/1 corresponds to the pitch kenong/2, commonly used in laras pelog jawar, and is indicated as ba = 2Pelog or ba = 2P.[13] In another laras (fig. 5.9d), they transpose the entire tuning to a lower pitch level, so that barang/1 = the salendro pitch kenong/2 (ba = 2S).[14] The intervallic structure of the laras remains essentially the same (see fig. 5.9c) and so the name of the laras does not change.

By examining other instrument types, one may obtain a better sense of the implications of playing in distinct laras for musicians in a wayang golek troupe.[15] Musicians who play the bonang and gambang (xylophone) are able to play familiar kinesthetic patterns in a variety of different laras by selecting kettle gongs or wooden keys, respectively, and placing them in appropriate positions on their instruments. In a performance of wayang golek, these musicians change the physical configuration of tones on their respective instruments as required by the multilaras repertoire.

The conventional bonang configuration for laras salendro is shown in figure 5.10 (also see fig. 5.1). Each kettle gong is represented by a name and number, derived from Koesoemadinata's system. For pieces played in laras salendro on gamelan Ki Barong, the positions for the five tones shown in figure 5.10 are maintained. Kettle gongs used for other laras are placed in positions other than the ten spaces occupied by salendro kettle gongs. For ease of identification, kettle gongs are marked on the underside with ciphers and tuning-specific indications: for example, 1S = 1 salendro; 3PL = 3 *pelog liwung,* and so on, as illustrated in figure 5.11.

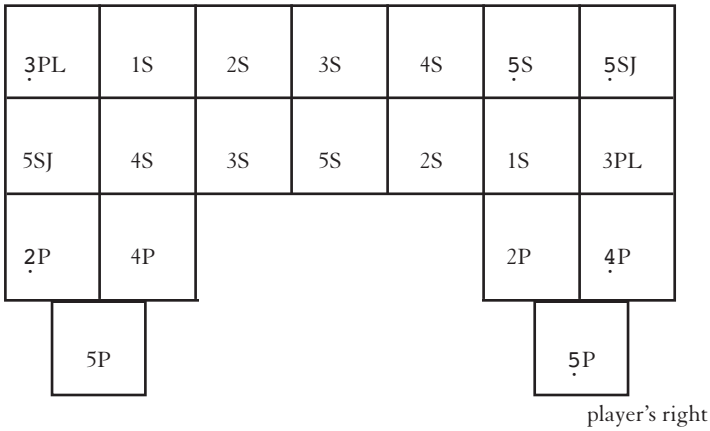
The bonang player moves the kettle gongs in order to play pieces in each laras. The player arranges the kettle gongs in the conventional configuration by placing them in appropriate spaces for each respective laras. He keeps some of the kettle gongs in set positions so he can find them easily

ba 1S	ke 2S	pa 3S	be 4S	si 5S
si 4S	be 3S	pa 5S	ke 2S	ba 1S

player's right

ba (barang) = 1S
ke (kenong) = 2S
pa (panelu) = 3S
be (bem) = 4S
si (singgul) = 5S

FIG. 5.10. Configuration of laras salendro on a conventional bonang



1 salendro = 1S
2 salendro = 2S
3 salendro = 3S
4 salendro = 4S
5 pelog = 5P
2 pelog = 2P
4 pelog = 4P
5 salendro = 5S
3 pelog liwung = 3PL
5 sorog jawar = 5SJ

FIG. 5.11. Configuration of laras salendro on gamelan Ki Barong (bonang)

(see, for example, the position of 2P, 4P, and 5P above). The bonang player conceptualizes each tuning system in terms of these conventional bonang positions and places individual kettle gongs in those positions, as in figure 5.12. After setting up the various configurations, the player follows the conventional kinetic patterns regardless of the tuning system.

The frequent removal and replacement of kettle gongs and xylophone keys during performance has important implications for performance practice. A set order of pieces is more common in troupes that use multilaras gamelan because of necessity: musicians playing certain instruments (e.g., bonang and gambang) must prepare their instruments for particular tunings in advance by selecting kettle gongs or wooden keys, respectively, and placing them in appropriate positions on their instruments. Performances are characterized by a more controlled and more rigidly orchestrated musical performance that departs from the variability and spontaneity of more conventional practice. In contrast to the conventional gamelan salendro, multilaras gamelan necessitates a kind of preperformance reflection and planning. However, there is also an aesthetic ideal shared by spectators and musicians of musical solidarity, or close coordination among musicians

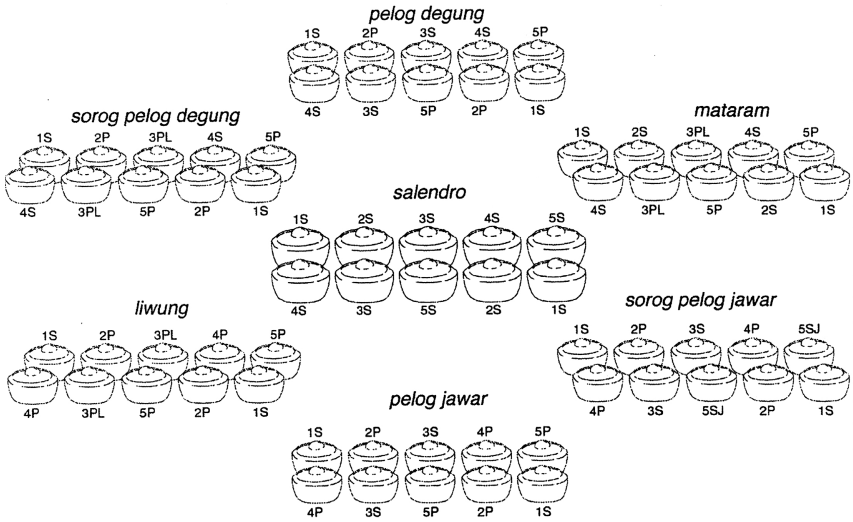


FIG. 5.12. Configurations of laras on gamelan Ki Barong (bonang)

(*kakompakan para nayaga*), which is accentuated by smooth transitions between pieces in one laras to pieces in another. According to musicians with whom I spoke, it is the ability to execute smooth transitions from one tuning system to another that enhances spectators' enjoyment of music as being musically coordinated (kompak). For example, performances by Asep Sunandar Sunarya's troupe, Giri Harja III, include sections with a set order of musical pieces that recur night after night, which are played by instrumentalists in fixed positions. Multilaras gamelan is closely connected to the set ordering of pieces in performances and the tightly organized arrangement of parts in those pieces.

The Repertoire of Gamelan Ki Barong

As multilaras gamelan limited the spontaneity and flexibility of performance, it also enabled certain dalang to expand the musical repertoire of wayang golek. Musical innovations in wayang golek repertoire encompass the following main areas: melodic innovation, the arrangement and specialization of parts, and the incorporation of non-Sundanese music. In the following section, I present examples of melodic innovation drawn from the following categories: wayang-specific instrumental pieces; *nyandra* (sung narrative passages); kakawen ("mood songs"); *lagu perang* ("battle pieces"); and lagu kawih (vocal pieces featuring the sinden).

Wayang-Specific Instrumental Pieces: "Karatagan"

Using the greater number of laras, the repertoire can be expanded through melodic transposition. For example, the standard opening wayang piece "Karatagan" has been subject to a high degree of innovation in troupes that utilize multilaras gamelan, partly because it is so easily transposed. Transpositional processes may be illustrated by examining the *pangkat* (an introductory melodic phrase often played on the saron) for "Karatagan." The pangkat (p) includes each of the five tones in the tuning system and is played on the saron. The pangkat may be indicated in cipher notation as

follows (the goong is struck simultaneously with the cadence tone of the phrase, indicated by a circle):

p:112212321251523(4)

A rendering of the pangkat for "Karatagan" in four different tuning systems may be represented in Western staff notation as in figure 5.13.[16] These examples correspond to the saron charts shown in figure 5.9. The intervallic structure has changed slightly, but the three new renderings are perceived to be transpositions of the same melodic passage in laras salendro. In practice, melodies played in the third and fourth tunings will sound similar because, while the pitches that comprise the tuning system change, the intervals of the pitches in the melody are roughly intact. Melodies played in the first and second tuning begin on the same pitch (tumbuk barang) but will sound very different because the intervals of the tuning system are different.

The examples above are intended to show the high degree of melodic innovation in pieces that incorporate the new tonal possibilities of multilaras gamelan. These transpositions are particularly striking in "Karatagan," the

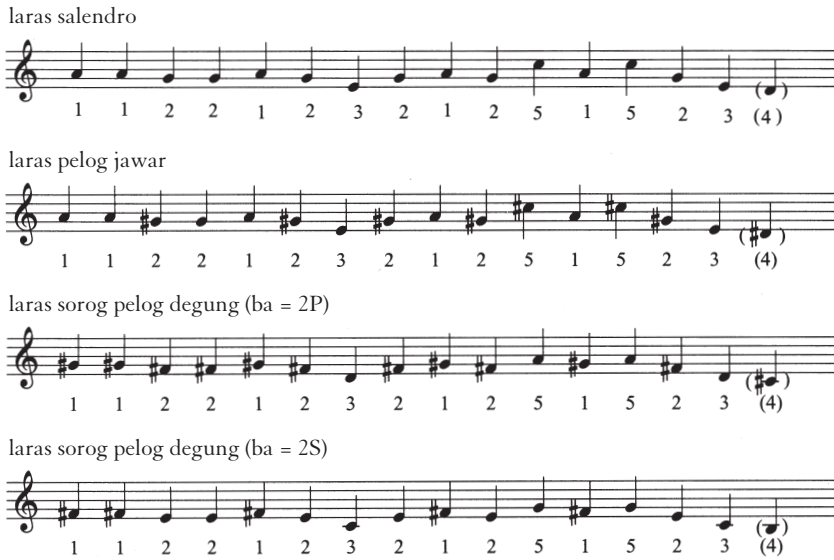


Fig. 5.13. Pangkat for "Karatagan" in four laras, as played on gamelan Ki Barong (saron)

first piece in which the cueing instruments kecrek (metal plates struck together with the dalang's right foot) and campala (wood knocker played by the left hand) are heard, signaling to the host and spectators that the dalang has taken the stage. The piece occurs in a set structural position between the overture (tatalu) and the opening invocatory piece (murwa). It precedes the removal of the kayon and the entrance of the characters in the first scene. As a standard piece that is specific to wayang golek, spectators have heard the piece before and will notice the striking difference between these innovative versions and the normative renderings of the piece in laras salendro. Transpositions into non-salendro tuning systems foreground the extraordinary and impressive sound of the gamelan. They also mark the unique, highly personal style of the dalang. After hearing "Karatagan," spectators are likely to spread the word that the musical component of this particular dalang is creative, novel, and interesting.

Nyandra

Nyandra are sung narrative passages that are used to introduce scenes, character types, or specific characters. Nyandra texts for specific characters are set, whereas nyandra texts used for scenes and character types utilize formulaic passages in which the names of characters and places may be inserted. In the following example, Asep Sunandar uses a formulaic narrative passage appropriate for outer-court scenes (pasebanan) to introduce the arrival of an army contingent. The name of the army's land of origin (Gilingwesi) is inserted into the formulaic passage (and underlined in both the original Sundanese Kawi and the English translation).

Dalang: Patih nagara Gilingwesi, lan Senopati ing ngalaga nyaur seudanten waladia balad tamtama, parantos aya di Paseban Jawi, ngabaris beres. Gundira ngandika:

Dalang: The minister of Gilingwesi and the commander of the army, along with their brave and powerful troops, are gathered outside the audience hall in perfect formation. He speaks with authority:[17]

The musical transcription of the preceding passage illustrates the melodic aspects of this nyandra (fig. 5.14). In this rendering, the nyandra is sung in laras sorog pelog degung in which barang = 2Salendro. The pitch set [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] for laras sorog pelog degung (ba = 2S) corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [f♯, e, c, b, g]. The saron chart for laras sorog pelog degung is shown in figure 5.9d. The saron musicians end the nyandra by playing a characteristic cadential pattern in laras sorog pelog degung. In the dialogue section that follows, the characters' voices must be "tuned" to the pitches of laras salendro. Gamelan musicians stimulate the dalang to stay in tune by playing "reference pitches" and formulaic melodic passages in laras salendro. After playing the cadential passage in laras sorog pelog degung, the saron musicians modulate to laras salendro by playing the pitches barang/1 (= Western pitch a) and bem/4 (= Western pitch d) in laras salendro.

The juxtaposition of different tuning systems has introduced novel ways of treating music and text. The example above shows that multilaras gamelan are used to transform not only musical aspects of performance, but narrative aspects as well. The use of multilaras gamelan accentuates the difference between nyandra and dialogue through the contrast between

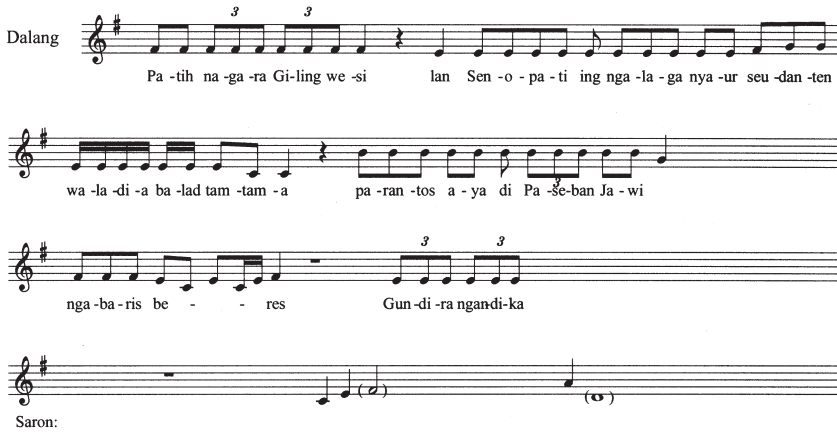


FIG. 5.14. Nyandra, laras sorog pelog degung, ba = 2S

laras sorog pelog degung and laras salendro. This new level of contrast between narrative segments or entire scenes produces a different kind of narrative flow that captures and holds spectators' attention.

Kakawen: "Gedong Duwur"

Kakawen (from the root word *Kawi*) are sung poetry in Sundanese Kawi. Kakawen texts are verbally foreign, given that they are not offered up for understanding and comprehensibility. According to Sundanese dalang Dede Amung Sutarya, the texts command attention because, unlike everyday Sundanese, kakawen are linguistically "strange" (*aneh*).[18] While the literal meaning may be obscure, appreciation resides in the musical sound. Kakawen are a musical, as well as literary and dramatic, element of wayang golek. There is no sense of the text without the performance of it; in effect, the music and the performance take the place of the text. Sundanese writers describe kakawen as a musical genre and, in their manuals for learning how to perform wayang golek, they give notation for kakawen as *lagu kakawen* (lit., kakawen song) (see Barmaya 1975; Soepandi 1978; Soerawisastra 1982).

Kakawen have essential structural and dramatic functions in the lakon structure (Salmun 1961; Soepandi 1978; Foley 1979). Each kakawen is associated with a particular mood (*rasa*), scene (*adegan*), character (*tokoh*), or character type (e.g., priest, knight, demon). The dalang prepares each scene by singing a kakawen to set the appropriate mood. Dalang may not understand the literal meaning of the text, but they know which kakawen to use for a particular mood, scene, character, or character type.

In theory, certain laras correspond to particular moods. For example, according to Dede Amung Sutarya, laras salendro is ideally suited to scenes that are "bright and happy" (*cerah*); laras sorog is associated with "sad" (*sedih*) scenes; and laras pelog or laras sorog would be most appropriate for "reflective" scenes (*bayangan; lamunan*) (pers. comm., July 18, 1994).[19] While these associations are neither readily articulated nor systematically realized in practice, dalang do recognize a connection between laras and mood.

Asep Sunandar uses multilaras gamelan to emphasize the dramatic shifts between different moods and locations in a story. Like wayang-specific pieces (including "Karatagan"), kakawen are transformed through processes of transposition by playing salendro pieces in non-salendro tuning systems. The transformations resulting from transposition may be illustrated by comparing the same kakawen sung by the same dalang in laras salendro and laras mataram. Figure 5.15 shows the kakawen "Gedong Duwur" sung in laras salendro. The pitch set [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] for laras salendro corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g, e, d, c]. (The saron chart for laras salendro is shown in fig. 5.9a.) The saron chart for laras mataram is shown in figure 5.16. The pitch set [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] for laras mataram corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g, f♯, d, c♯]. In figure 5.17, the kakawen "Gedong Duwur" is sung in laras mataram.

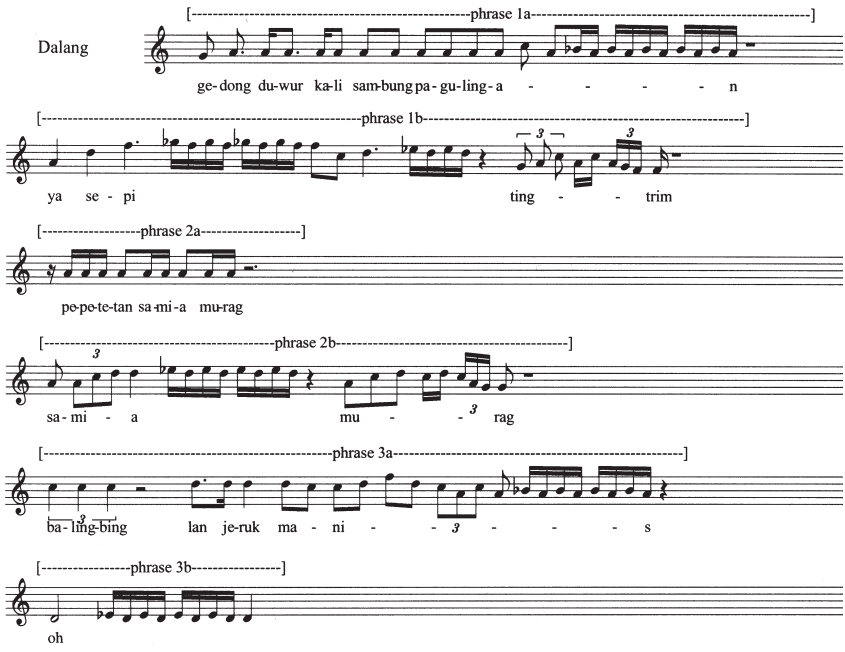


FIG. 5.15. Kakawen "Gedong Duwur," laras salendro

pitch degree		**5**	**4**			**3**	**2**		**1**			**5̣**	**4̣**
pitch name nomor wilahan	11	**si** **10**	**be** **9**	8	7	**pa** **6**	**ke** **5**	4	**ba** **3**	2	1	**si** **10**	**be** **9**

Approx. Western pitch	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d	d/d♯	d♯/e	f/f♯	f♯/g	g/g♯	g♯/a	a♯/b	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d

FIG. 5.16. Saron chart for laras mataram

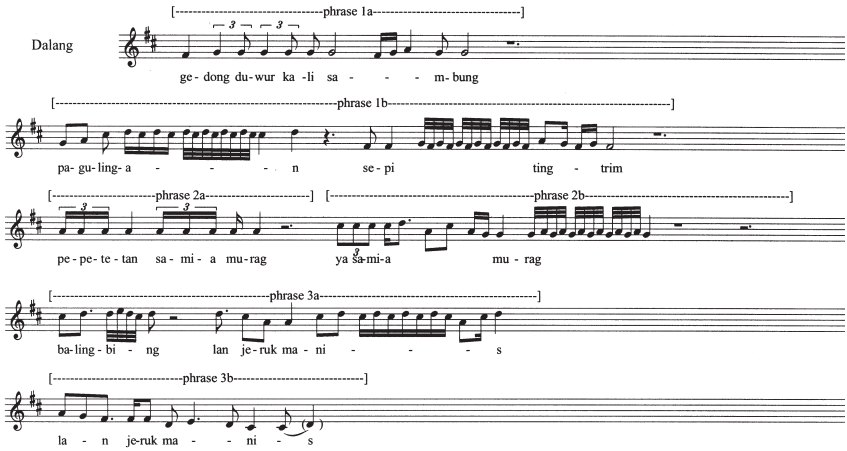


FIG. 5.17. Kakawen "Gedong Duwur," laras mataram

"Gedong Duwur" is made up of three main phrases, each containing two parts. Phrase 1a of "Gedong Duwur" in laras salendro begins on pitch kenong/2 and then sustains on barang/1. Phrase 1b of the laras salendro version begins on barang/1 and ascends to panelu/3̣ before descending to panelu/3. In laras mataram, phrase 1a begins on panelu/3 and sustains on kenong/2. Phrase 1b of the laras mataram rendering begins on kenong/2 and ascends to bem/4̣ before returning to panelu/3. In laras mataram, the first phrase has been transposed to a lower pitch level. Asep Sunandar uses the lower pitch level because a direct transposition of the laras salendro

melody would not "sound good" in laras mataram. Also, the ascent to panelu/3̣ in laras mataram does not fit comfortably within his vocal range.

Phrase 2 in each rendering begins on pitch barang/1 (thus, they are tumbuk barang). In the laras mataram version, the melody has been transposed from laras salendro to laras mataram on the same pitch level. Again, the pitch panelu/3̣ is avoided. These changes illustrate the ways in which a creative dalang adapts the kakawen to fit the laras as well as his vocal range. In laras mataram, he also alters the setting of text to musical phrase so that the text is more evenly distributed in relation to the pitches of the melody. The more evenly distributed text seems to make up for the fact that the laras mataram version does not have as much melodic movement as the laras salendro rendering. The example shows that the dalang sacrifices the established melodic norms of musical performance (pitch level, range, and text distribution by musical phrase) for a greater variety of laras.

Lagu Perang: "Sampak"

Lagu perang are loud pieces played for battles or scenes involving excited action. Goong cycles are short and irregular. The *perang gagal* is a special type of battle scene distinguished by its unique placement and function in performance. It occurs only once in each performance—typically before midnight before the panakawan emerge. Perang gagal dramatizes the struggle between the opposing forces that constitute the central conflict in the play. In perang gagal, there is no victor. Perang gagal is accompanied by a special piece ("Sampak") which, unlike other battle songs, has a regular goong cycle.

Before describing this category of performance, it will be necessary to introduce some important principles of Sundanese music. The underlying structure of tones, the patokan structure (*patok* = stake or pillar), establishes the basic tonal framework for the lagu. The sequence of tones repeats a variable number of times in a cyclic manner. Piece structures for many Sundanese gamelan pieces are defined by the positions of these structural tones as well as the intervallic relationships between them. The most important structural tones that define a piece are cadence tones, which coin-

cide with the striking of the large goong (called goong tones), and tones that occur at the midpoint of a goong phrase (called kenong tones).

A large number of lagu, both vocal and instrumental, may be treated in different *wilet,* the formal expansion and contraction of the number of beats between goong tones. Wilet indicates to the instrumentalists the density of structural tones, type of melodic elaboration, degree of improvisation that occurs within the goong cycle, and the kinds of melodies that may be sung in conjunction with the underlying structural tones. Different wilet treatments produce distinct textures of musical sound. The underlying patokan structure can be stretched or compressed by lengthening or shortening the duration between structural tones by multiples of two. For example, if the duration of the *sawilet* (single-wilet) realization is sixteen beats, the *dua wilet* (double-wilet) realization will be thirty-two beats, the *opat wilet* (quadruple-wilet) realization will be sixty-four beats, and so on. A *satengah wilet* (half-wilet) treatment has eight beats per goong phrase. Wilet theoretically operate by multiples of two; there is no such thing as a *tilu wilet* (triple-wilet) treatment. However, musicians often conflate wilet and tempo when identifying specific treatments because wilet also refers to the way a piece "feels." Thus, a piece played in *sawilet satengah* (one and a half wilet) may refer to a fast dua wilet realization or a slow sawilet realization. One can understand this nomenclature given that in practice, the tempo often does increase when musicians make a transition from dua wilet to sawilet.[20] Also, a satengah wilet treatment is usually played at a rather fast tempo.

In performances by Giri Harja III, "Sampak" is the piece used for perang gagal. The piece structure consists of two phrases. The goong tones, which mark the cadence tone of each phrase, are 4 and 2.[21] In the following realization, the kenong tones, which occur at the midpoint of each phrase, are 5 and 1. Alternating tones, called *pancer,* are placed between the main structural tones. In this realization, the pancer tone is 3. The treatment, or wiletan, is satengah wilet, which may be described as an eight-beat phrase. The piece structure for "Sampak" is:[22]

||:–3–5–3–4
–3–1–3–2:||

The pitch set for laras pelog jawar [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g♯, e, d♯, c♯] shown in figure 5.9b. A rendering of "Sampak" in laras pelog jawar may be represented in Western staff notation as in figure 5.18.

Perang gagal has a standard placement and function in performance. Musical treatments of the scene define the unique and innovative nature of Asep Sunandar's performance style. In general, lagu perang are brief and are not treated according to the concept of wilet. The wiletan treatment of "Sampak" not only differs from all other lagu perang used in performance, but it produces a more dramatic and intense effect. Elongated musical phrases allow Asep Sunandar to extend individual sections of battle scenes in order to display his impressive puppet manipulation skills. By playing "Sampak" in a non-salendro tuning system, the piece stands apart even more starkly from other lagu perang. The extraordinary movement patterns that comprise the scene are thus foregrounded through music. Enhanced by the sound of an enlarged gamelan with the full battery of the gamelan playing (including the doubled kendang and kenong), "Sampak" laras

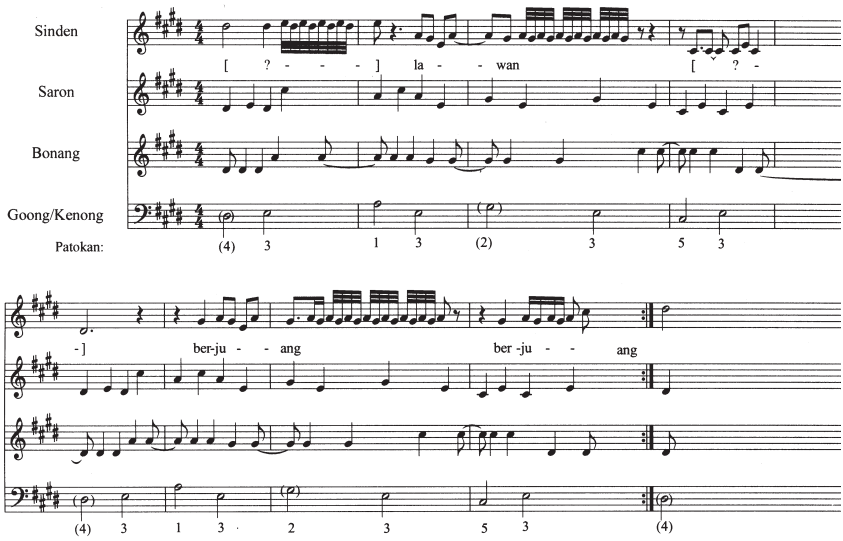


FIG. 5.18. "Sampak," laras pelog jawar

pelog jawar creates a powerful and lasting impression among spectators. These aesthetic effects on spectators validate and reinforce the use of multilaras gamelan.

Lagu Kawih: "KB," "Pras-Pris," and "Kajawen"

Performances by Giri Harja III are characterized by a more controlled and more rigidly orchestrated musical performance that departs from the variability and spontaneity of more conventional practice. Performances include sections with a set order of musical pieces (*susunan lagu*) that recur night after night, and fixed arrangements (*aransemen*) of musical parts and texts, which are played by instrumentalists in fixed positions. Multilaras gamelan is closely connected to the set ordering of pieces in performances and the tightly organized arrangement of parts in those pieces.

The high degree of regularity in musical performance is most evident in the repertoire of lagu kawih, metered vocal pieces that feature the sinden and juru alok (the male singer of the gamelan ensemble) accompanied by the gamelan ensemble. In performances by Giri Harja III there is a degree of flexibility, but there is also a set repertoire of pieces that occur in a regular order and with a fixed organization of parts. For every performance that I viewed by Giri Harja III, the group played a medley of five lagu kawih, usually between eleven o'clock and midnight. An important reason for the ordering of lagu in Asep Sunandar's performance stems from his obligation to promote government programs and commercial interests.[23] The regularity of these interludes stems from Asep Sunandar's participation in promoting a government message and sponsorship by a local bank. For example, the lyrics for the song entitled "KB" promote the government family planning program (Keluarga Berencana).

The arrangement of "KB" begins with two sections built around a chorus call and solo response. In the first section of the song, the chorus (*rampak sekar;* RS in the following transcription) calls the code letters KB, which are answered by a single voice (the juru alok). In the second section the chorus sets up a condition that is resolved by the corresponding solo voice. Finally, one of the musicians (Ewon) reminds the audience that the government has

embarked upon the Second Long-Range Development Plan (Pembangunan Jangka Panjang Tahap ke II, or PJPT II). The Sundanese song (and its English translation) appears in its entirety:

RS: KB
ALOK: Keluarga Berencana
RS: KB
ALOK: Program ti Pamarentahan
RS: KB
ALOK: Hayu urang laksanakeun
RS: KB
ALOK: Pancen keur sakumna warga

RS: Mun urang asup KB
ALOK: Keluarga bakal sehat
RS: Mun urang asup KB
ALOK: Keluarga bakal senang
RS: Mun urang asup KB
ALOK: Jadi masrakat tuladan
RS: Mun urang asup KB
ALOK: Nunjang kana pangwangunan

EWON: KB—kulawarga berencana
KB—menjunjung keluarga bahagia
Keluarga berencana bisa ngabantu program pamarentah
terus tanjeurkeun PJPT II.
Keluarga berencana.

RS: KB
ALOK: Family Planning
RS: KB
ALOK: A government program
RS: KB
ALOK: Come on, let's give it a try
RS: KB
ALOK: It is our duty

RS: If we practice family planning
ALOK: Our family will be healthy
RS: If we practice family planning
ALOK: Our family will be happy
RS: If we practice family planning
ALOK: As a model community
RS: If we practice family planning
ALOK: Achieve the goals of Development

EWON: KB—Family Planning
KB—Respect a happy family,
Family planning will help the
government program as well
as PJPT II. Family planning.

Multilaras gamelan enables another form of innovation, wherein wayang golek may be linked with genres of Sundanese urban popular music (pop Sunda). Many of these pieces belong to the subgenre of *degung kawih,* newly composed pieces played in laras pelog degung. The pitch set for laras pelog degung [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g♯, e, d, c♯], as shown in figure 5.19. The incorporation of degung kawih have led to collaborations between dalang, musicians, and composers in urban Bandung. In performance, composers benefit from the promotion of their songs to the public while dalang benefit from the popularity of songs that

pitch degree pitch name nomor wilahan	11	**5** **si** **10**	**4** **be** 9	8	**3** **pa** **7**	6	5	**2** **ke** **4**	**1** **ba** **3**	2	1	5̇ **si** **10**	4̇ **be** **9**
Approx. Western pitch	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d	d/d♯	d♯/e	f/f♯	f♯/g	g/g♯	g♯/a	a♯/b	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d

FIG. 5.19. Saron chart for laras pelog degung

are likely to attract spectators to the performance site. By incorporating songs that spectators may already know (from cassette recordings and radio broadcasts, for example), dalang are able to create a large audience for wayang golek among consumers of mass-mediated popular music. Wayang reaches out to new and diverse audiences by integrating a wide variety of Sundanese dance, music, and theater forms that are traditionally distinguished from each other by regional and class affiliations.

"Pras-Pris" (The sound of drizzling rain) is a song in the degung kawih repertoire composed by Nano S. and played as an interlude in performances by Giri Harja III. The majority of pieces in the degung kawih repertoire are based on patokan that have been adapted from the gamelan salendro repertoire. "Catrik" is the piece structure used for the arrangement of "Pras-Pris." The patokan for "Catrik" consists of goong tone 5, kenong tone 2, and pancer tone 3. The wiletan treatment is dua wilet, which allows for the addition of a secondary pancer tone, 1.

||:–1–3–1–2
–1–3–1–5:||

"Pras-Pris" is a tightly arranged composition that alternates between verse and chorus (see fig. 5.20). As opposed to pieces which feature the repetition of verses (which may involve the alternation of vocal parts sung by the sinden and juru alok, respectively), this piece is through-composed (*lagu ciptaan*).

In arrangements of this type, the players have highly specialized roles that do not vary from performance to performance. In figure 5.20, note the

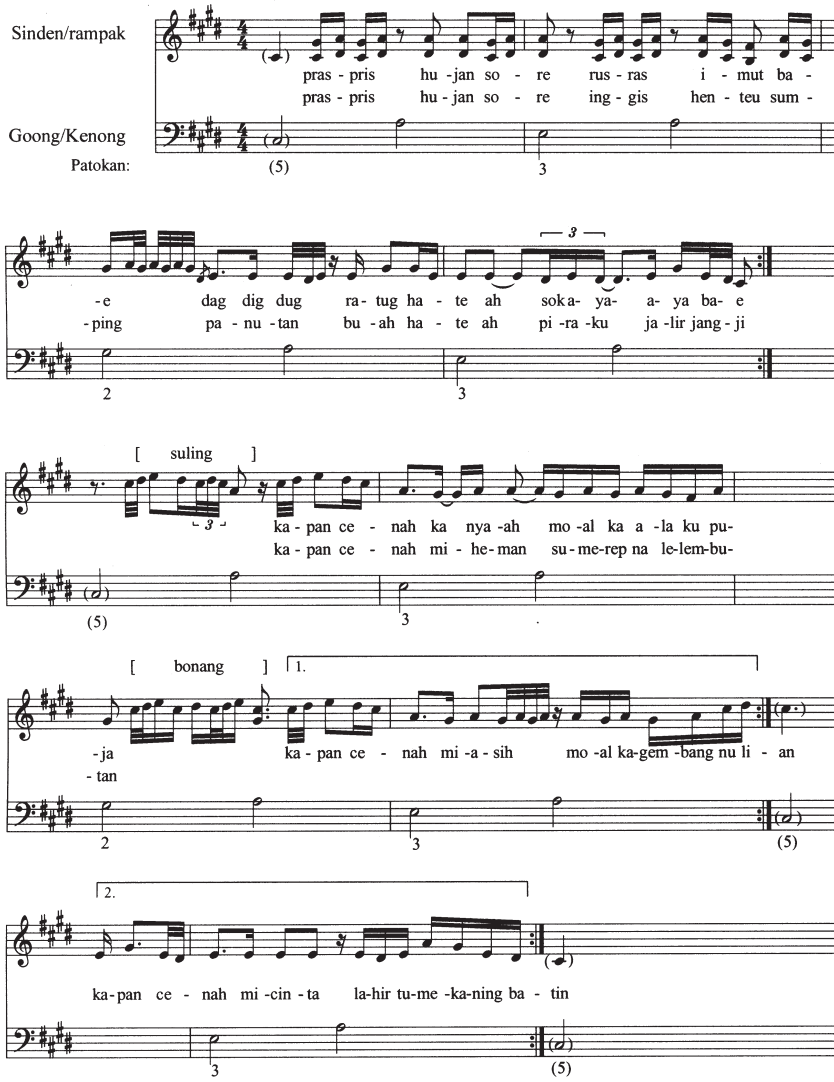


FIG. 5.20. Lagu kawih "Pras-Pris," laras pelog degung

instrumental patterns played on the bonang and the alternating chorus and solo vocal parts in the chorus section. The melody consists of additional "vocal" tones, including d♯ and f♯. Thus, even though these pitches could be played on the fixed-pitch instruments of the multilaras gamelan, the Sundanese practice of fixed-pitch instruments accompanying melodies that include non-fixed-pitch tones is maintained.

Another feature of these pop Sunda pieces is the inclusion of instruments that are not generally part of the conventional gamelan ensemble for accompanying wayang golek. The degung kawih instrumentation includes the suling, an end-blown bamboo flute that is not associated with gamelan salendro. Critics have observed that the suling does not belong in the wayang golek ensemble because the rebab is the main melodic instrument for wayang golek. The contemporary practice of using both the suling and the rebab at the same time is akin to having two melodic "leaders," which some feel violates Sundanese performance practice.[24] However, for groups that play popular music of degung kawih, as well as musical pieces associated with the music of Cirebon (illustrated in the following example), the suling is considered to be essential. One innovation seems to give rise to another in an ensemble sound that depends on the use of multilaras gamelan to allow the incorporation of both pop Sunda and Cirebonese music, both of which call for the suling, an instrument not traditionally associated with wayang golek. The inclusion of the suling makes not only for new and interesting sound but also for lively discussion about what constitutes tradition.

Multilaras gamelan have enabled troupes to incorporate an extensive repertoire of pieces from other genres that were previously not possible on salendro instruments. In addition to the music of degung kawih, music from non-Sundanese genres has also been incorporated. "Kajawen" (lit., in the style of Java) is the title of a piece appropriated from a musical genre outside the Sundanese music repertoire. The piece incorporates musical materials from Cirebon, a city on the north coast of Java whose mystical practices and performing arts elicit fascination and respect among Sundanese dalang. Cirebonese music is signified in "Kajawen" by hand clapping, interlocking bonang patterns, a vocal chorus phrase ("so la li"), and a song text in Cirebon Javanese (*Basa Cirebon*). The pitch set for laras sorog pelog jawar, [1, 2, 3, 4, 5], corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set

[a, g♯, e, d♯, b] (see fig. 5.21). The patokan used for "Kajawen" is the Sundanese piece "Sorong Dayung." The patokan for "Sorong Dayung" consists of goong tone 1 and kenong tone 3, as shown in the following cipher notation:

||:–5–1–2–3
–2–5–2–1:||

The rendering of "Kajawen" shown in figure 5.22 was chosen by the dalang to accompany a scene in which the gods Batara Narada and Batara Indra wait outside the gate of Heaven for the arrival of a delegation from earth. In his choice of music, the dalang attempts to create a mood of reflection and serenity thought to be appropriate for the gods. According to Asep Sunandar Sunarya, scenes in Heaven are best accompanied by pieces in laras pelog jawar, which is thought to create a more "reflective" mood among spectators (pers. comm., January 15, 1995). While these associations may have previously been operative in the minds of dalang, they were not possible on conventional gamelan salendro. Like kakawen, these new practices, made available by sets of multilaras gamelan, have enabled dalang to establish new connections between narrative, music, laras, and mood.

Multilaras gamelan began as a theoretical experiment in the late sixties but did not become part of a dominant performance practice until the late eighties. The initial experiment, introduced by conservatory educators, was rejected by practicing musicians, who tended to work independently rather than being maintained as a group by economically able dalang. As performance opportunities grew more exclusionary during the seventies, one innovative dalang turned to multilaras gamelan, which became a mark of distinction. For troupes of superstar dalang from the eighties to the present, multilaras gamelan project status and power not only in the size and appearance of the instruments, but also in the spectacular sound produced by a significantly enlarged repertoire. In effect, the appropriation of space by the display of instruments and the impressiveness of sound increases capabilities for drawing larger crowds to the site of performance and keeping them entertained through the performance of an extraordinary repertoire.

pitch degree				4	3			2	1	5			
pitch name nomor wilahan	11	10	9	be 8	pa 7	6	5	ke 4	ba 3	si 2	1	10	9

Approx. Western pitch	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d	d/d♯	d♯/e	f/f♯	f♯/g	g/g♯	g♯/a	a♯/b	b/c	c/c♯	c♯/d

FIG. 5.21. Saron chart for laras sorog pelog jawar

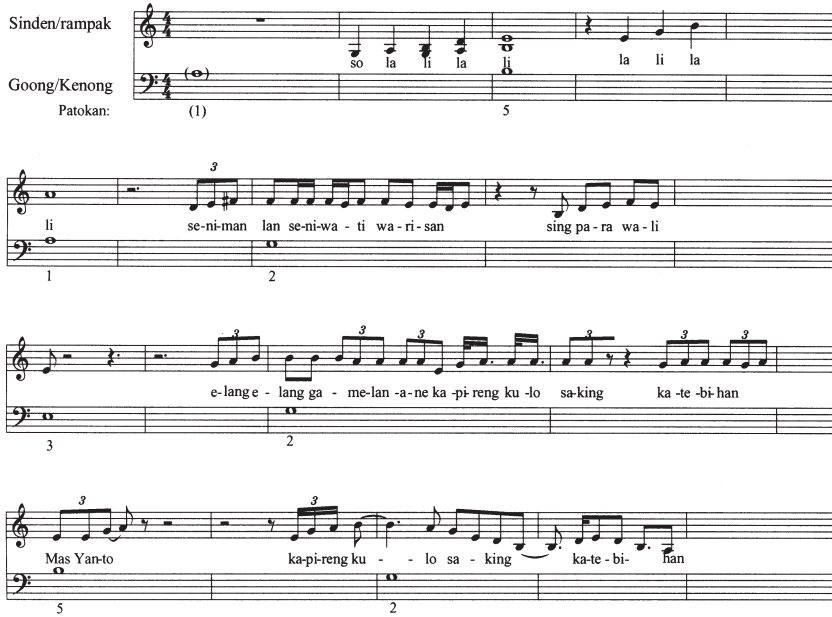


FIG. 5.22. "Kajawen," laras sorog pelog jawar

New tonal possibilities have stimulated musicians to experiment with tunings, create novel arrangements, and incorporate repertoire, instrumental techniques, and texts from non-Sundanese musical genres. Melodic patterns only previously possible on variable-pitch instruments (voice and rebab) are now playable on the fixed-pitch instruments. While the majority of dialogue in the performance remains tied to laras salendro, dalang have incorporated the new tonal possibilities of multilaras gamelan into the overall dramatic structure. Transpositions of mood songs (kakawen), battle music (lagu perang), and pieces specific to wayang golek are designed to create a feeling of expansiveness and awe in the listener. In addition, multilaras gamelan have the capability of encompassing a much larger musical territory, allowing the incorporation of pieces from non-salendro repertoires previously not possible within the context of wayang golek performance. This visual and aural appropriation of space through the enlargement of gamelan size and repertoire creates an impressive magnetic spectacle that draws crowds of spectators.

However, an increase in the variety of musical experiments and forms has accompanied a decrease in the diversity of performance styles. Within individual troupes that use multilaras gamelan, players are fixed in regular positions. Multilaras gamelan reflects the grouping together of a privileged set of musicians around those dalang who have incorporated them into their troupes. Because of the added tones, musicians must learn new kinesthetic patterns that are different from those they have become accustomed to associating with piece-specific melodies and skeletal piece structures (patokan). In playing the saron, the player must internalize new kinesthetic patterns which take into account the greater distances between keys. Players of bonang and gambang must be ready to rearrange kettle gongs and wooden keys, respectively, from one piece to the next. Musicians have become more specialized because the instruments require technical and theoretical knowledge that can be acquired only through concentrated study of and sustained practice on the instruments. The coordination and ordering of the repertoire in performance relies on a set group of musicians who play specialized and predictable parts. Because players are no longer as interchangeable as they once were, there is a greater tendency toward more exclusionary musical practices.

Clearly these phenomena are not caused by multilaras gamelan, but it is my contention that multilaras gamelan have helped circumscribe the sphere of performance among a small group of dominant performers. Multilaras gamelan has concentrated performance opportunities to a small group of dominant performers who have privileged access to cultural resources. While lesser-known dalang express the desire to own such a set, their access to such instruments is prohibited by the considerable expense of purchasing the bronze,[25] tuning the instruments, and constructing the unusually large instrument stands. Moreover, the labor and truck space it would require to transport the instruments to and from performances is far too onerous and expensive.

My analysis describes the ways in which cultural practice is intersected by authority and power. The focus on this innovative period in music history has been especially useful in analyzing how musical practices and performance mediate social relations and the ascription of status and cultural authority. Forms of musical innovation become embedded in and deeply inflected by social struggles over power, at particular conjunctures and historical moments. The rise of superstar dalang that dominate the mass media and the public sphere of performance constitutes those dalang as privileged performers and economic actors whose monopoly of cultural resources enables them to define musical norms and standards. Acceptance of those norms and standards of performance in turn shapes audience tastes, expectations, and patterns of musical consumption.

Spectators have responded positively to such new developments as a hybrid musical repertoire, musically "compact" performances, and a greater variety of pieces and musical associations. Thus, by owning these gamelan, dalang have been able to increase their own popularity within the highly competitive field of dalang. The adoption of multilaras gamelan by superstar performers of wayang golek signals the changing capabilities and priorities of performers, as well as the evolving tastes and sensibilities of audiences in New Order Indonesia.

During August 2001, I visited Dede Amung and Asep Sunandar to inquire about the status of multilaras gamelan. Dede Amung proudly displayed a gamelan that he had recently begun using, which was one of the largest and certainly the heaviest gamelan I had ever seen. Not only did the

gamelan have extra keys and pots, but, according to him, the mixture of metals used to make the keys and pots was more pure and therefore produced a louder, clearer, and "better" sound. He noted that each of the saron keys weighed eight kilograms (nearly eighteen pounds) as compared to conventional saron keys, which might weigh half as much. Asep Sunandar, by contrast, had maintained the multilaras concept, but he had enlarged the gamelan size by using two of each instrument. Each musician was now responsible for playing a pair of complementary instruments in each performance, similar to the double sets in the gamelan traditions of central Java. According to the performers in Asep Sunandar's troupe, the multilaras saron in gamelan Ki Barong had too many keys per octave, making it difficult to play fast patterns; the double set simplified matters. Although Dede Amung's gamelan was heavier and more "pure," Asep Sunandar's was still larger and "different from all the others."

Part III

Cultural Technologies and Representation

Chapter 6

THE CASSETTE CULTURE OF WAYANG GOLEK

COMMERCIAL CASSETTE PRODUCTION was pivotal for the creation of superstars (fig. 6.1). While star performers had long been a characteristic feature of wayang golek, distinctly constituted superstars emerged with the advent of mass mediations of wayang golek. Such superstars enjoyed enhanced capabilities and opportunities for reaching mass audiences while also exerting authority and influence over a large and diverse group of performers. By solidifying a small field of performers, cassette companies established an exclusionary system of representation for wayang golek. As a result of their influence on audiences and younger performers, this small group of superstar performers became the focus of official attempts to shape wayang golek into an instrument of government policy.

Accounting for cassette production, circulation, and use—"cassette culture," to borrow a term from Peter Manuel (1993)—is crucial for understanding wayang golek in the New Order period. The "cassette culture" that emerged in the seventies was conditioned by new flows of capital that entered Indonesia through the agency of the New Order regime. Capital was used to organize recording companies, to set up studios, to create distribution infrastructures, and to develop new and expanding markets of potential consumers. The emergence of cassettes coincided with other forms of mass culture, including television, intense advertising, and the huge influx of various consumer products. A growing white-collar, urban,

FIG. 6.1. Wayang golek cassette covers

middle-class audience for wayang golek provided a consumer base for cassettes that had never existed.

While cassette culture helped consolidate the power and influence of superstar performers, it also had a significant role to play in the emergence of highly innovative styles that embraced popular cultural forms. In this sense, cassette culture helped not only to crystallize a tradition but also to generate new forms that emphasized humor, musical and theatrical hybridity, and the use of everyday language in performance.[1] Although the sphere of stylistic representation narrowed considerably, cassettes created a new listening public among people not inclined to watch wayang golek performances in public settings.

Live and Mediated Performance

Before turning to an analysis of wayang golek cassettes, it is important to understand the dialogic relationship between live and mediated performance. In many societies, electronic communications have had profound effects on music and other mediated texts. Manuel, writing about music genres in North India, notes that "their form, content, and meanings are strongly conditioned by and inseparable from the advent of cassettes, and hence they must be holistically understood in that perspective" (1993, 17). Forms of electronic mediation cannot be treated as a separate analytical category from either their live musical or theatrical counterparts; rather, they are dialogic and therefore constitute each other. In my analysis, for example, cassettes are viewed not only in relation to "live," or face-to-face, performance, but in relation to a multiplicity of other genres.

Cassettes of Indonesian performance genres, including wayang golek, were not simply adaptations of live or "face-to-face" performance, as scholars have suggested (Foley 1979, 267; Long 1986; Kam 1987). Live performance was not the urtext, a point of origin that was then adapted to modern media through a process of "mediaization" (Wallis and Malm 1984, 15). This unidirectional model—from live to electronic—fails to account for live performances as products of a long historical interchange, a series of "multiple media[t]izations," with prior media technologies, products, and ideas (Bolter and Grusin 1996, 339; Auslander 1999, 7). The concept of multiple mediatizations helps to understand how genres are constituted through this process of change, whereby the production, circulation, and consumption of electronically mediated texts have become part of the genre itself. In the case of wayang golek, this electronically mediated art form and performance practice can be traced by accounting for the impact of cassettes.

Commercial Cassettes of Wayang Golek

Private companies in Jakarta produced the first commercial cassettes of wayang golek in the early seventies. Why would commercial cassette companies invest in a performance genre in which the visual elements are so

important and in which performances usually last six to nine hours? In the early years of the cassette recording industry, producers experimented with a wide variety of Sundanese genres, hoping to create new markets for a growing sector of young, urban, middle-class consumers. Philip Yampolsky (1987, 19) estimates that private companies produced some thirteen hundred titles over approximately a ten-year span. Producers were willing and able to experiment because the technology to record a cassette was cheap, they paid few taxes on recordings, and they offered musicians a small flat fee and no royalties. Within the genre of wayang golek, for example, companies rarely posted a loss because they always produced recordings of the top figures in the genre (Iik Setiawan, pers. comm., August, 2001).

The aurality of wayang golek was well-suited to the medium of cassettes. In face-to-face performances, wayang golek had always been both an aural as well as a visual art. However, since the mid-fifties, when amplification was introduced, the sound of a performance could be heard further away from its point of origin.[2] Spectators quickly became accustomed to hearing performances of wayang golek rather than actually viewing them.

The introduction of cassette technology followed closely on the heels of the "era of the sinden" (*jaman sinden,* 1959–64), in which female singers were the featured attractions in a wayang golek performance (Weintraub 2004). Star singers who had already been successful as recording artists on LPs were featured on the earliest wayang golek recordings. The earliest troupes recorded on cassettes were led by two Jakarta-based dalang, Barnas Somantri and Cakra Hudaya, whose troupes featured the top female vocalists, Upit Sarimanah and Titim Fatimah, respectively. By featuring crossover artists (artists who had already established fan bases in other genres), companies were able to decrease their risks and increase their profits by branching out to new genres such as wayang golek.

The Effects of Wayang Golek Recordings

As the cassette industry developed, the effects of the new technology began to be felt.[3] Struggles over representation—of performers, regional styles, language, and lakon—accompanied the introduction of the new medium.

Fears emerged in the late seventies about limited opportunities resulting from the recording of select dalang on cassettes. Cassette producers began focusing their resources on producing cassettes of a limited number of performers who would yield predictable economic returns. Indeed, the seventies market was dominated by a few dalang (their home regions appear in parentheses): Cakra Hudaya (Jakarta), R. C. Jamar Media (Cianjur), R. Barnas Somantri (Jakarta), A. Sunarya (Bandung), Ade Kosasih Sunarya (Bandung), R. Tjetjep Supriadi (Karawang), and Amung Sutarya (Bandung).

In 1979 a popular Sundanese magazine, *Manglé,* published an interview with Mang Amar,[4] an elderly rebab player, once known as the top rebab player in north Bandung and who had been active in several wayang golek troupes. The article was entitled "Wayang Cassettes Are Killing Young Dalang" and featured this quote:

> Most of them [cassette recordings] can "kill" the new dalang who are now emerging. Because those who get recorded are mostly those who already have a name. In any case, those who wish to watch wayang want [to hire] the dalang who has already made a cassette. Dalang who are popular with the people are from outside the area [because popular dalang perform in areas throughout West Java]. In the past, . . . [in the village,] a wayang could [be performed] by someone still learning. That was enough. As long as it was lively. But now it's not like that. They [hosts] only want a dalang who has a reputation. It doesn't matter that they [hosts] have to sell off whatever they have, just to fulfill their dreams. On the other hand, there are those who want to hire a famous dalang, but it turns out they don't pursue the idea, because the cost of the dalang is too high. (Dudi S. 1979, 41)

In 1983 *Manglé* published an interview with Pa Osid, a respected wayang golek carver. He notes that people are likely to play a cassette rather than hire a lesser-known dalang: "For the dalang who don't yet have a name, wayang cassettes are indeed a hindrance, because people holding a hajat are more likely to play a cassette than arrange for a dalang who hasn't yet proven himself. That's why it hinders the development of all the younger dalang" ("Abah Jeung" 1983, 16).

These statements indicate the growing concern among musicians that cassettes would replace live performance. The statements also indicate that the cassette industry was consolidating a highly exclusionary system made up of a few dominant figures. Although cassettes did not actually replace dalang, a system of exclusion began to take shape that would have significant effects on the genre. Cassettes were perceived to privilege individual and regional styles, which subsequently limited performance opportunities for others (Otong Rasta, pers. comm., March 31, 1995). The close identity between individuals represented on cassette recordings and those who reached high levels of popularity appeared to support this claim. While stars existed before the seventies, promotion through the mass media created an even closer association of certain individuals with the genre of wayang golek.

Cassette producers would simply not take risks on lesser-known dalang. Most dalang with whom I spoke agreed that prior to the cassette industry, frequency of live performance was greater and a larger number of dalang were popular. At that time there were a few dominant figures, but there were ample opportunities for a group of mid-level regional stars to perform and make a living from their art. Beginning in the seventies, these opportunities became increasingly less available. While top stars enjoyed greater status and wealth than ever before, the field narrowed, due in large part to the cassette industry.

Production: Making Cassettes

While they recognized the potential impact of cassettes, dalang tended to have a rather cynical attitude about them. Cassettes led potentially to greater recognition and more performances, but the producer had control over the final product and made significant profit on it. Producers did not disclose sales figures to dalang,[5] who received only a flat fee, and no royalties. Dalang were also excluded from decisions relating to aspects of production, including editing. Dalang participated because cassettes were an important way to advertise their product to potential hosts.

Top dalang made recordings when their busy performance schedules allowed. Dede Amung remembers a period when he recorded four to five

stories in a single night, without rehearsals (Dede Amung Sutarya, pers. comm., May 1, 1995). Asep Sunandar made recordings during the fasting month of Ramadan, when no hajat were held. Products were recorded quickly and finished quickly in the studio. The master was cleaned up for hiss and the product was ready shortly after the recording. For even the top dalang, the quality of performance on cassette recordings varied from excellent to poor; nevertheless, retakes were rare, even with poor quality recordings.

Dalang commented that material recorded on cassettes had a different quality from material presented for a host at a hajat.[6] On cassette recordings, Asep Sunandar, for example, emphasized comedy rather than storyline, particularly in the relatively new genre of *wayang bodoran* (wayang comedy). His older brother Ade Kosasih commended him for recording only jokes, which he viewed as less "valuable" than stories (Ade Kosasih Sunarya, pers. comm., July 12, 1994). Stories are more valuable than jokes because stories are passed down from one's teacher; it takes dalang more time to create new stories, as opposed to jokes; and stories are associated with particular dalang or families of dalang. Further, stories are more valuable to dalang because they can market a story to an audience that has never heard that story before, whereas jokes can be easily reproduced by other dalang.

Ade Kosasih was also responding to the way in which jokes have a unique market value. Prospective hosts want to hear how busy, lively, and excited (ramai) a show can "sound," which is difficult without an audience. One solution is to focus on jokes so that the gamelan troupe, taking the place of the audience, can respond with laughter and running commentary. Finally, it seems that dalang were also trying to hold something back from producers, not only as a strategy to record other lakon in the future, but also because of dalang's cynical, and sometimes downright hostile, feelings toward producers.

Dede Amung Sutarya, who has recorded over thirty stories on cassette, placed a greater emphasis on performing "outside" (live performance) as opposed to performing on a recording, although both audiences are made up of his fans: "For example, if I have 100 percent, I'll put 40 percent on cassette. For sale outside live performance, I for one don't guarantee [I'll perform] what's been recorded. Maybe 5 percent of what appears on cassettes is taken

to the public [in performance], maybe even 10 percent, but at least 90 percent I'll create anew. . . . For my stock outside, as opposed to recordings, is for the public. . . . If I record, and the recording becomes popular, for example, my fans will get bored. I'm compelled to divide [my product] into two. This is to sell outside, and this is for cassettes" (pers. comm., March 16, 1995).

As the previous statement indicates, dalang express resistance to complete commodification by refusing to be confined to material enshrined on cassettes. They cling to the novelty and spontaneity of public performance and encourage their audiences to avoid limiting or fixing their tastes and expectations to material encountered on cassettes.[7] Although dalang must resist the essential tendency of cassette commodification to petrify their performance, this tendency has not, in fact, discouraged innovation and competition among dalang. Daniel Neuman, writing about star performers in Hindustani classical music, notes the close connection between innovation and mass media exposure: "The demand for innovations is a consequence of their sustained exposure through recordings and public concerts" (1990, 224).[8] Musical innovation has had other effects, as Neuman further observes: "Because of the influence of a few masters who now provide the major patterns copied by other musicians, there has probably been a *decrease* in the diversity of performance styles. At the same time there has been an *increase* in the variety of musical experiments and forms that musicians perform. . . . One would expect such a dynamic in a musical environment in which the flow of ideas has been speeded up through the mass media, and the sensibilities of the listening public redirected from the traditional 'novelty' of depth to the modern one of breadth" (1990, 229; emphasis Neuman's).

This apparent contradiction between the "decrease in the diversity of performance styles" and the simultaneous "increase in the variety of musical experiments and forms" is significant. In fact, what has occurred at the structural level with the advent of the cassette industry is that the level of diversity in personal and regional styles has decreased as opportunities to perform have become dominated by those few dalang who are valorized by the cassette industry. However, as these dalang sell more and more of their stories, they are forced to develop their capacity for innovation and experimentation in order to, as Dede Amung Sutarya puts it, keep their fans from "getting bored." Dalang superstars are only able to sustain their high status

and visibility in the public eye as long as they can keep up with the public's appetite for novelty. This is what Neuman means when he says that "the flow of ideas has been speeded up through the mass media" (229). The public's demand for novelty has not been satisfied by democratically representing the varying styles of many people from many different regions. Rather, the creation of superstars means that a select few have privileged access to mass representation and this elite group of individuals are now under the most pressure to innovate, experiment, and invent novelties constantly demanded by the public.

Dede Amung's strategy is to keep the domains of recording and live performance separate and to update his performance constantly with new material. He developed his strategy after observing the first generation of dalang recorded on cassette, namely Tjetjep Supriadi and Ade Kosasih Sunarya, whose live performances tended to replicate what they had already recorded on cassette. According to Dede Amung, hosts would be more likely to either use cassettes in place of live performance, or to hire a less expensive dalang who could play the stories, jokes, and music of the current stars. As discussed earlier, cassettes did not replace live performance; however, Dede Amung's views indicate another way that cassettes worked to limit representation to a few individuals. The demand for performers to reproduce the style and material of the superstars was yet another force toward the homogenization of personal and regional styles among lesser-known dalang.[9] Again, it seems that innovation became even more the privilege and preserve of the superstars, whose mastery and authenticity precluded his talent being measured by mimicry, but instead precisely through novelty and originality. According to Dede Amung, his market strategy was to record prolifically by introducing new material on cassette. And, as for live performance, he told me, "if you want it like a cassette, go ahead, but my style has already changed" (pers. comm., March 16, 1995).

Circulation: Cassettes as a New Form of Transmission

For dalang represented on recordings, cassettes were crucial to forming personal artistic styles beyond the influence of family relationships and

regional affiliations. Cassette culture enabled cross-regional artistic influence and dialogic exchange to emerge among dalang. In my interviews with dalang, they were reluctant to acknowledge such influences, emphasizing family lineage and individual artistic genius instead.[10] My claim that stylistic links and influences existed developed from my analysis of cassette recordings and was corroborated by interviews with other dalang.[11] Cassettes were the medium through which this dialogic process occurred as dalang became the audience for other dalang on cassettes.[12] For example, Asep Sunandar, the top dalang of the nineties, shaped his personal style by borrowing from a dalang named R. C. Jamar Media, whose recordings he had listened to during the seventies. Both dalang were celebrated in the commercial sphere, and they enjoyed wide popularity among audiences of their time. They also pushed wayang golek in new directions, as evidenced by resistance to their respective styles by more conservative dalang.

R. C. Jamar Media is known to me only through cassettes, which he recorded prolifically in the seventies. The name Media, which marks his identification with modern technology, is likely an alteration of his given name Madya.[13] Based on his youthful rock-star appearance on cassette covers, his career as a dalang began early (fig. 6.2). He had also been trained as a writer, director, and actor for sandiwara. He combined these roles in recordings of *sandiwara tunggal* (solo sandiwara), a Sundanese narrative performance genre in which one individual performs several different voices. The stories are told in Sundanese, usually take place in a village, deal with everyday issues and problems, and involve a high degree of humor. Sandiwara tunggal existed only on radio and cassette and was popular in the seventies.

According to dalang I interviewed in 1994–95, Jamar stopped performing wayang golek at some point in the eighties to focus exclusively on a career as an Islamic proselytizer (*juru dakwah*). In my extensive review of scholarly and popular literature on wayang golek, I encountered only one scholarly source that mentions him (Soepandi 1988c, 45). Dalang who were active during the era would like to forget about Jamar Media because he was so successful among the public. Unlike other performers of his era, who communicated indirectly through symbols, allusion, and metaphor, Jamar always made direct references to Islam. Dalang and critics contended

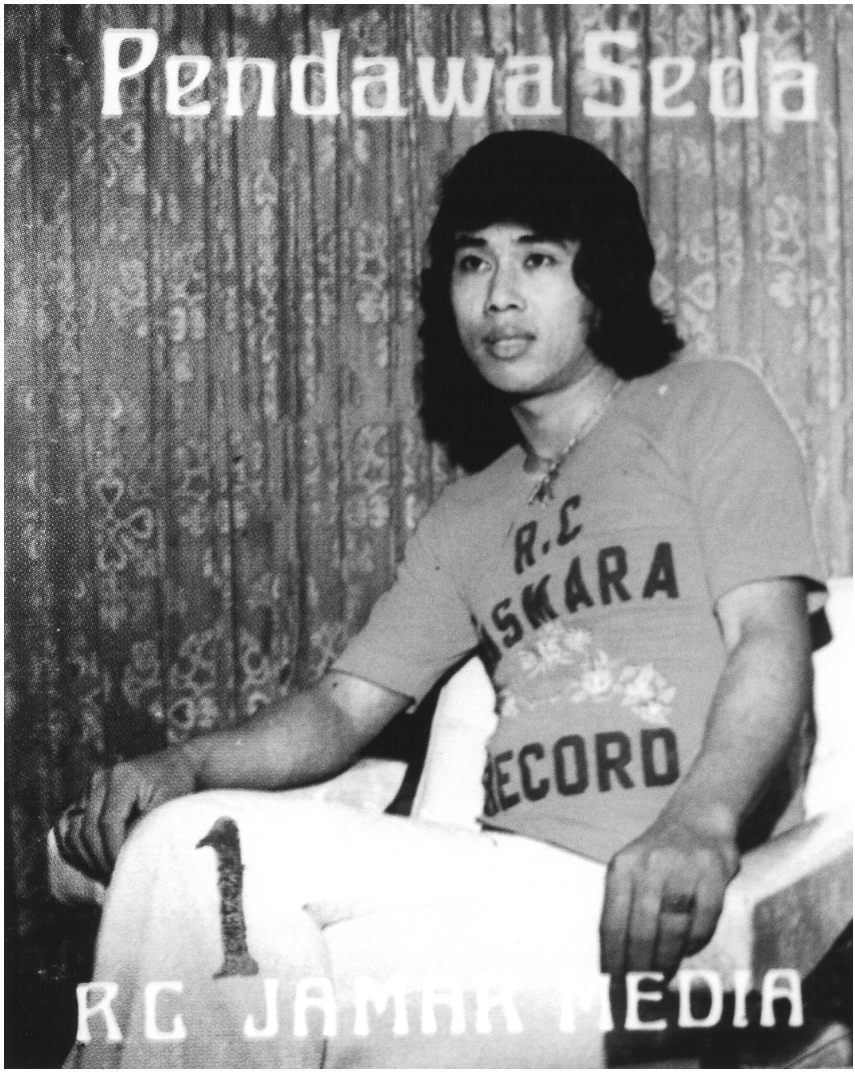


FIG. 6.2. Cassette cover of a Jamar Media recording

that his performances were not wayang golek at all but rather a form of proselytizing.

Like his predecessor and counterpart Tjetjep Supriadi, Jamar Media performed scenes in the everyday vernacular as opposed to the highly stylized vocal conventions that characterize wayang golek. In "Pendawa Seda" (ca. 1977), the panakawan characters Cepot, Dawala, and Gareng tune in to a *sandiwara radio* (radio drama) broadcast from Palembang. The scene not only breaks the conventions of stylized dialogue but its risqué theme addresses a young, urban, middle-class, white-collar audience. A man knocks on the door of an urban home, the site of a typical nuclear family. Father is at the office, Mother is at a social gathering, the children are at school, and the maid is out buying food at the market. The only person at home is a young girl, enjoying her leisure time alone. She offers the man a variety of bottled drinks:

CEPOT: Bejana cenah mani boga radio.
GARENG: Memang aku boga radio. Tah ieu.
CEPOT: Gusti mani pasagi gede kitu. Naon merekna eta teh ngarana merekna naon eta teh?
GARENG: Telesonic.
CEPOT: Sabaraha ban?
GARENG: Empat puluh genep.
NAYAGA: Wah!
DAWALA: Deuh [?] tatangga mah boga radio teh make nu herang ngacir ka luhur disebutna teh "ancleu" kitu?

CEPOT: Lain ancleu jurig mah 'ta matak kudu ngotak eta 'ge "antimo"! Coba heg satelkeun.
PENYIAR RADIO: Inilah Radio Republik Indonesia studio Palembang saudara pendengar seperti mana biasa RRI studio Palembang sepuluh hari sekali sediakan acara saudara Sandiwara Radio dalam Bahasa Indonesia.

CEPOT: They say you own a radio.
GARENG: It's true, I own a radio. It's right here.
CEPOT: My god, that thing is huge! What brand is it? Come on, tell us, what d'you call it?
GARENG: Telesonic.
CEPOT: How many stations?
GARENG: Forty-six.
NAYAGA: Wow!
DAWALA: My neighbors own a radio with one of those bright upright things on top [of the house] called, what is it, an anchenna?
CEPOT: Not "anchenna"—use your head, it's called an antimo.[14] Go ahead, let's hear it.
RADIO ANNOUNCER: Welcome to the Indonesian State Radio station in Palembang as we present our regular program on RRI Palembang, presented once every ten days, your favorite radio dramas [sandiwara] in Bahasa Indonesia.

CEPOT: Iyah, aya kaliwara euy!

CEPOT: Sandiwara euy? Sapatu ujang meureun urang mah. Aduh, ampun nalangsa mendengar sapatu ingat aing keur maok.
RASID: Assalam alaikum. Assalam alaikum.

IDA: Ada siapa di luar? Aku tidak kena suara itu.
RASID: Aku datang Ida.
IDA: Oh, ah! Tunggu sebentar akan ku buka pintunya sayang.
DAWALA: Kang, urang milu?!
CEPOT: Cicing. Cicing ieu milu lain, cicing.
IDA: Silahkan masuk.
RASID: Aku malu. Bapa ada?

IDA: Bapa tidak ada sudah ke kantor.
RASID: Ibu?
IDA: Ibu sedang arisan.
RASID: Adikmu?
IDA: Adikku sedang sekolah.
RASID: Pembantu rumahmu?
IDA: Sedang belanja.
RASID: Jadi kau di rumah sendirian?
IDA: Ya, kebetulan ya. Masuk?
RASID: Yeuh.
IDA: Yeuh.
RASID: Yeuh.
DAWALA: Urang milu entong?
CEPOT: Cicing!
IDA: Silahkan duduk.
RASID: Ya.
IDA: Akan kuambil minuman untukmu. Apa minumnya: pi, genever, coca-cola, RC, Fanta, atau limon biasa?

CEPOT: Oh boy, *kaliwara,*[15] alright! (*He whistles.*)
CEPOT: Is this sandiwara? His shoes sound like my shoes. Y'know, it makes me think of my shoes, the ones I stole.
RASID: As-salaamu 'alaikum. As-salaamu 'alaikum. [Islamic greeting: Peace be with you.]
IDA: Who's there? I didn't hear you knock.
RASID: I've come Ida.
IDA: Oh, ah! Just a second while I open the door, my love.
DAWALA: Hey bro, can we go too?!
CEPOT: Sit still, we can't go, just sit still.
IDA: Come on in.
RASID: I'm embarrassed. Is your father home?
IDA: Father is already at the office.
RASID: And Mother?
IDA: Mother's with her friends.
RASID: Your younger brother or sister?
IDA: At school.
RASID: Is your maid home?
IDA: She's out shopping.
RASID: So you're alone?
IDA: Yes, it's true. Coming in?
RASID: Yes.
IDA: Yes.
RASID: Yes.
DAWALA: Can we go along or not?
CEPOT: Sit still!
IDA: Have a seat.
RASID: I will.
IDA: I'll get you something to drink. What would you like: pih, genever,[16] coca-cola, RC, Fanta, or just a lemon drink?

RASID: Tidak, aku cukup dengan cuka saja.
CEPOT: Enteng lalaki teh urang mah da minum teh meni olo-olo kudu cileuncang digulaan.
IDA: Rasid.
RASID: Hm?
IDA: Aku sayang padamu.
RASID: Aku sayang padamu.
IDA: Oh, mana tanganmu?
RASID: Ini.
IDA: Oh, Rasid, ah, jangan, awas jangan aduh, ah!
DAWALA: Kang korongan, korongan!

RASID: No, I'm fine with vinegar.
CEPOT: These young guys are so spoiled they want to drink rainwater sweetened with sugar.
IDA: Rasid.
RASID: Yes?
IDA: I love you.
RASID: I love you too.
IDA: Oh, give me your hand.
RASID: Here.
IDA: Oh, Rasid, don't do it. No, stop it!
DAWALA: C'mon bro, snot, snot.[17]

Jamar Media introduced a series of mediations, or "remediations," in which one form mediates another (Bolter and Grusin 1996, 339; Auslander 1999, 7). In this example, sandiwara radio remediates wayang golek, and is mediated further by the clown characters' commentary. By placing a radio dialogue within a wayang golek performance, Jamar Media made wayang golek more communicative with young urban audiences who identified with the sound of sandiwara radio but knew nothing about wayang golek. Further, the characters often spoke Indonesian, which broadened Jamar Media's appeal among audiences in and around Jakarta, who did not speak Sundanese. The technique of remediation as a cultural technology, like shifts in language, generated different cultural associations, enabling dalang to communicate with diverse audiences.

In this important middle section of the cassette, Jamar's wayang has the quality of a comedy show, in which segments are pasted together with little connection between them. The previous scene leads directly into a musical interlude that shifts between and blends gamelan and tagoni, a Jakarta-based popular vocal genre. In contrast to Sundanese gamelan, which is sung in Sundanese melodies in the salendro tuning system, tagoni is characterized by Indonesian language texts and melodies sung and played in a diatonic tuning system.

Not only was tagoni popular among Jamar's Sundanese audiences but, because of the music's Islamic associations, it undoubtedly made a favorable

impression on censors. In the early New Order period dalang were targeted for spreading communist propaganda, which was believed to promote atheism (Suanda 1981, 38). As a way to evade censorship and further sanctions against their performance, dalang began making more explicit links between wayang golek and Islam by communicating Islamic messages directly rather than through allusion or symbolism, and infusing performance with tagoni as well as other Islamic-related musics (*gambus* and dangdut). Jamar Media infused wayang golek performance with Islamic messages and media to a greater extent than any dalang of his era.

Jamar Media was pivotal in capturing a wide audience for wayang golek in spite of the intensified incursion of Western popular entertainment into the Indonesian market. Innovative transformations of wayang golek focused on incorporating more realistic vocal and dramatic practices from other Sundanese theater forms (sandiwara) and expanding the musical repertoire in order to appeal to urban audiences with a newly developed taste for novelty. Jamar Media set himself apart stylistically from dalang of the period by blending wayang golek with other popular forms, bringing Islam into the frame of wayang golek, and experimenting with different tuning systems. Although derided by aficionados and scholars, he had a significant impact on wayang golek and dalang of the eighties and nineties. Yet, as his performances were criticized for violating conventions and rules of the art (*luar tetekon*), he enjoyed wide popularity among audiences of his time.[18] These strategies appealed to a younger audience and helped to draw them away from other competing entertainment forms.

Representation: Wayang Bodoran

Asep Sunandar's wayang golek cassette recordings of the eighties and nineties became a forum for humor, not only in the middle section of the performance structure, but in practically every scene. Extended comic sections on wayang golek cassettes spun off into a genre called wayang bodoran involving Asep Sunandar, his group Giri Harja III, and several "guest artists" (*bintang tamu*), who tell jokes. Wayang bodoran are comedy performances in which panakawan play the main roles.[19] Although the

characters derive from wayang, puppets are not central to the genre. Unlike lakon, which have a plot and a set order of scenes, wayang bodoran have a very loose narrative structure. Like Jamar Media's sandiwara tunggal, the subgenre of wayang bodoran exists solely as a recorded genre (fig. 6.3).

Wayang bodoran as a popular subgenre of wayang began in 1986, when Asep Sunandar Sunarya and Dalang Asep Taruna recorded "Astrajingga Mabok Cinta" (Astrajingga [Cepot] drunk with love). However, precedents for the subgenre exist from as early as the thirties. Dalang Partasuwanda made a recording entitled "Djaka Talamoen (Bodoran Wajang Golek)" for the Odeon Company in the late thirties. Lakon in which the main characters were clowns had begun to dominate performances of wayang golek in the late seventies, and these lakon proliferated in the mass media as well (Foley 1985). Many of the formal stylistic features of Jamar Media's recordings of sandiwara tunggal were borrowed by Asep Sunandar to develop the subgenre wayang bodoran: short recordings (one hour), based on a theme rather than a narrative, in which everyday problems are expressed through dialogue and humor.

FIG. 6.3. Wayang bodoran cassette covers

Several other factors led to the creation of wayang bodoran as a distinct genre. Up to this time recordings of complete lakon had been produced in the following formats: a single one-hour cassette; a series of three one-hour cassettes; and a two-volume series containing six one-hour cassettes. The most popular format was the three-hour series. In the mid-eighties it was common for cassette listeners to bypass the first cassette and instead focus on the middle one, which featured extended comedy sections. Wayang bodoran, at one hour each, were similar to the middle tape in a three-cassette set. Another factor that contributed to the rise of wayang bodoran in the mid-eighties was that urban middle-class fans of wayang golek tended to identify the genre with Asep Sunandar, whose specialization was comedy (*bodoran*). Further, listeners did not have to be knowledgeable about or even interested in wayang golek characters, stories, and performance conventions. As long as they could understand Sundanese, they constituted a potential audience.

In wayang bodoran, plot is secondary to comedy routines, skits, and jokes. Wayang bodoran involve little if any rehearsal, and are highly improvised. Themes may be discussed beforehand—the election of a local government official; the difficulties of having two wives; the effects of the monetary crisis—but most revolve around creating a humorous, partylike atmosphere so that serious matters can more easily be addressed. Wayang bodoran tapes of the nineties are usually built around a theme involving Cepot: "Cepot Diajar Da'wah" (Cepot studies proselytizing), "Ngalamar" (Proposing marriage), "Astrajingga Mabok Cinta" (Astrajingga drunk with love), "Cepot Moneter" (Cepot and the monetary crisis), and "Cepot Triping" (Cepot on Ecstasy), among others.

For example, the theme of Dalang Asep Taruna's "Cepot Pesta" (Cepot's party) is structured around a family that is preparing to host a party to celebrate a circumcision. The parents ask the child what kind of party he wants and he answers that in order to save money, the parents should sponsor a *rapat* (meeting) rather than a hajat (feast). A rapat had become a kind of New Order ritual that might be more familiar to urban audiences than a hajat. Hajat, like everything else in the New Order, had become heavily bureaucratized and commodified. In "Cepot Pesta," hajat are characterized as profit-making events where the food is allocated according to one's gift. For a 25,000-rupiah gift, people could take home an egg. For a 10,000-rupiah

note, they could take home half an egg, while for a contribution of 2,000 rupiah, they would receive a photocopy of the egg to take home. Participants at ritual events like this would more likely be handed a photocopy than a plate of food. The dalang adds that hiring an expensive wayang golek troupe to draw crowds is intended to increase potential gifts and not to function as part of the ritual and social event.[20]

In another example, "Cepot Triping" (1996), Bi Ijem, a *topeng banjet*[21] comedian from Karawang, consults Bapak RT (Bapak Rukun Tetangga), the male head of the neighborhood association, about a problem she's having with her husband, Cepot. All day long he shakes his head back and forth, singing a repetitive song with droning lyrics about how everything is "groovy" and "cool" (*asyik, enak*). He likes to hang out at discos and pubs and wears dark sunglasses at night. Bapak RT tells Bi Ijem that Cepot is taking the drug Ecstasy, or "triping." Cepot explains that he takes Ecstasy to escape the suffering caused by corrupt individuals (*oknum*), whose actions are the cause of widening economic and social disparities (*gejelak sosial*), envy and avarice (*kecemburuan sosial*), and rising criminal behavior (*tensi kriminal*).

CEPOT: Naon sababna aing teh 'nya nepi ka kieu triping kieu euy?
NAYAGA: Naon kang?
CEPOT: Sabab neuleu-neuleu mararaneh euy geus teu balaleg siah jadi oknum siah harirup.
NAYAGA: Teu baleg lebah manana?
CEPOT: Yeuh, ngemban Amanat Pendeletaan [Penderitaan] Rayat teh euy cing bener-bener atuh. Pek pikir ku maneh.
NAYAGA: Triping tapi ngomongna bener!
CEPOT: Ayeuna.
BAPAK RT: Kacipta nembongkeun unek-unek.
CEPOT: Unek-unek aing teh bijil ayeuna, euy!
BAPAK RT: Lantaran lamun sadar mah moal bijil.

CEPOT: Why do you think I'm tripping like this?
NAYAGA : Tell us why, bro?
CEPOT : Because you can see how harmful it is, this group of people, to everyone.
NAYAGA : What's so harmful?
CEPOT : You know the slogan about the people suffering?[22] Well, that's right on. Go ahead, you think about it for a moment.
NAYAGA: He's stoned, but he speaks the truth!
CEPOT: Like this.
BAPAK RT: It's true, it's frustrating.

CEPOT: I'll tell you how frustrating it is right now.
BAPAK RT: Because if he were conscious, it wouldn't come out.

CEPOT: Yeuh, dengekeun ku maneh nyaho maneh Pancasila?
BAPAK RT: Apal pisan!
CEPOT: Pancasila teh aya lima perkara ti mimiti katuhanan nu Maha Esa tungtunga kaadilan . . . ?
NAYAGA: Sosial.
CEPOT: Sosial bagi?
NAYAGA: Seluruh.
CEPOT: Seluruh rayat Indonesia tuluy di dinya aya ieu deui naon Persija?

BAPAK RT: Aya persatuan Indonesia.
CEPOT: Aya persatuan aya kebijaksanaan naon teh?
BAPAK RT: Aya perikemanusiaan.
CEPOT: Aya kerakyatan.
BAPAK RT: Kerakyatan.
CEPOT: Yang dipimpin . . .
BAPAK RT: Oleh hikmah
CEPOT: Oleh hikmah kebijaksanaan. Teuh denge nya! Jadi naon pangna ayana Pancasila the, nya eta untuk menghilangkan politik-politik liberal? Nya? Politik adu domba. Sakirana anu bakal ngaruksak ka nagara jeung ka bangsa, eta teh tur patonggong-tonggong jeung falsafah teh jeung Pancasila.
BAPAK RT: Pajauh-jauh.

CEPOT: Pajauh-jauh tah didinya aya hikmah kabijaksanaan. Nya?
BAPAK RT: Bijaksana nu mawa hikmah.
CEPOT: Nah. Jadi bijaksana nu mana? Anu rek dipararake ku mararaneh naha bijaksana dumeh deukeut? Dumeh duit? Dumeh deuheus?
BAPAK RT: Dumeh dulur?
CEPOT: Dumeh dulur?
BAPAK RT: Dumeh baraya?

CEPOT: Listen to me. Are you at all familiar with Pancasila?
BAPAK RT: I've learned it well!
CEPOT: Pancasila has five principles, beginning with the first one: belief in God, followed by justice . . .
NAYAGA: Social justice.
CEPOT: Social justice for . . .
NAYAGA: Everyone.
CEPOT: For all the people of Indonesia. And then there is, what is it, Persija?[23]
BAPAK RT: National unity.
CEPOT: Unity and wisdom and?

BAPAK RT: And humanity.
CEPOT: The people . . .
BAPAK RT: The people . . .
CEPOT: Are led . . .
BAPAK RT: By the wisdom . . .
CEPOT: By the rule of wisdom. Listen here! So what is the purpose of Pancasila if not to eliminate all forms of political factions? Huh? Like a ram competition. In a second, they will destroy the nation and the people, and following that, the philosophy of Pancasila.

BAPAK RT: That's so far away from our concerns!
CEPOT: Far away? It's right here! There is wisdom and righteousness. Ya?
BAPAK RT: Wisdom.
CEPOT: So what kind of wisdom? Is it among those who use their wisdom to become collaborators? To make money? To become close?
BAPAK RT: To become family?
CEPOT: To become family?
BAPAK RT: To become family (in another town)?

CEPOT: Dumeh baraya.

BAPAK RT: Dumeh sobat?
CEPOT: Dumeh sobat der weh dijadikeun bari pengetahuanana kurang bari jeung lain ahlina.
[recording edited here]
BAPAK RT: Sigana teh kieu Bi Ijem. Manehna teh boga unek-unek?
IJEM: Sugan.
BAPAK RT: Tina masalah kapamarentahan anu teu bener.
IJEM: Enya meureun.
CEPOT: Lain pamarentah nu teu bener. Keur oknum! Ulah jangji ngomong 'Mo. Aeh. 'Mo.
NAYAGA: Pa RT! RT!
CEPOT: Pan maneh teh Omo ngaran teh lain? Heueuh, ulah sebeledugna.
BAPAK RT: Ulah salah nerapkeun kata.
CEPOT: Kitu 'ta. Jadi . . .
BAPAK RT: Unek-unek keur oknum.
CEPOT: Keur oknum anu bakal ngaruksak jeung teu tanggung jawab.
BAPAK RT: Kana?
CEPOT: Kana naon rupa hal anu geus ditangtukeun.
BAPAK RT: Kana, kitu.
CEPOT: Pek. Ayeuna pikir ku maneh euy. Gejolak sosial. Tuluy kecemburuan sosial. Tina kecemburuan sosial ieu tensi kriminil bakal naek.
NAYAGA: Pasti jelas eta mah.
CEPOT: Nya?
NAYAGA: Jelas.
CEPOT: Jelas. Tah ieu.
BAPAK RT: Jauh teuing jauh teuing.
CEPOT: Tah ieu urang teh kudu kumaha carana ieu.

CEPOT: To become family (in another town).
BAPAK RT: To become best friends?
CEPOT: To become best friends and so their expertise is even less than the experts.
[recording edited here]
BAPAK RT: It's like this, Bi Ijem. They are following their own ideas, right?
IJEM: Sure.
BAPAK RT: To say it's a problem with the government is not correct.
IJEM: Yes, I guess.
CEPOT: The government is not wrong. It's those in control! Don't babble when you speak, 'Mo.[24]
NAYAGA: RT! RT!
CEPOT: You know his name's Omo. If you start saying something, don't move on to something else.
BAPAK RT: Watch how you use words.
CEPOT: That's right. So . . .
BAPAK RT: It's corrupt!
CEPOT: It's the corrupt group that's going to destroy things, and has no sense of responsibility.
BAPAK RT: To?
CEPOT: To the laws of the land.

BAPAK RT: Oh, of course.
CEPOT: Look. Think about it. The social gap. And then there's social envy. Social envy leads to a rise in criminal activity.
NAYAGA: That's for sure.
CEPOT: Right?
NAYAGA: It's clear.
CEPOT: Yes, it's clear.
BAPAK RT: It's gone too far, too far.
CEPOT: Where do we go from here?

BAPAK RT: Jurang pemisahna jauh teuing.

CEPOT: Jadi untuk garis pemisahnya untuk menanggulangi soal ini, kita itu harus bersatu kesatuan dan persatuan itu harus ditingkatkan. Tahu, nggak? Na eleh ku nu mararabok sia teh! Sok ieu. Aing mah leuheung euy mabok oge da puguh.

BAPAK RT: Aya lantaranana . . .

CEPOT: Aya lantaranana aing mah nginum ectasy jeung minum ieu.

BAPAK RT: Bir hideung bir hideung.

CEPOT: Bir hideung. Aya lantaranana aing mah mabok. Tah nu leuwih cilaka mah, nu teu nginum mabok.

NAYAGA: Da moal aya.

CEPOT: Naha make jeung moal aya?

NAYAGA: Anu mabok mah anu nginum, inuman keras.

CEPOT: Heueuh.

NAYAGA: Anu ngadahar pel model BK. Magadon, pasti mabok. Jeung aya oge lamun anu mabok indit-indit, eta teh mabok!?

CEPOT: Ayeuna naon cing efek sampinganana tina nginum tina ngalegleg Ectasy? Kapan bakal ilang keseimbangan? Tidak kontrol. Bener. Ngomongna ka mana karep pikanyerieun batur pagaweanana. Heueuh tah aing mah leuheung da aya lantaranana. Saswa sok, aing mah undak-undak aing mah sok. Pokona mah ente bebaslah mikeun aspirasi ka pamarentah. Bener, teu?

BAPAK RT: Leres.

CEPOT: Tapi harus demokrasi dan Pancasilais.

BAPAK RT: The social gap is just too wide.

CEPOT: In order to address this widening division between the rich and the poor, we have to raise unity and working together to a higher level. You know what I'm saying? Admit it, you've been outdone by drunks! Come on. I'm better when I'm drunk, that's for sure.

BAPAK RT: And there's a reason . . .

CEPOT: There's a reason that I take Ecstasy and drink like this.

BAPAK RT: Black beer, black beer!

CEPOT: Black beer. There's a reason I drink that's more harmful than not drinking.

NAYAGA: Not true.

CEPOT: Why do you say it's not true?

NAYAGA: The one who gets intoxicated is the one who drinks alcohol.

CEPOT: Yep.

NAYAGA: Those who take pills like BK and magadon[25] are stoned, but there are also those, like travelers [on a bus] who vomit too!

CEPOT: So what are the side effects from drinking and taking Ecstasy? You realize that you lose your sense of reality. You're just out of control. That's it. No matter what you say becomes a joke with your friends at work. I'm better for it and there's a reason, Saswa. I've stepped up to a higher level. Basically it allows me to express my desires to the government. Isn't that right?

BAPAK RT: Right.

CEPOT: But we need democracy and Pancasila.

BAPAK RT: Betul.
CEPOT: Kalau demokratif dan Pancasilais.
BAPAK RT: Betul.
CEPOT: Kitu itu akan dilindungi oleh undang-undang. Kitu.
[edit]
CEPOT: Enak, enak, enak. Asyik, asyik, asyik.

BAPAK RT: True.
CEPOT: If we can become democratic and Pancasilistic . . .
BAPAK RT: Yes.
CEPOT: Then we will be protected by the laws and regulations. That's it.
[edit]
CEPOT: Cool, cool, cool. Groovy, groovy, groovy.

Cepot implies that Indonesia's social problems were not caused by the younger generation, as government sources contended. On the contrary, it was a small "rogue" group of officials within the government (*oknum*). Rather, problems with Indonesia's younger generation are identified here as closely bound up with problems in the central government. For example, rising criminal behavior actually has its roots in the accumulation of wealth and a widening social gap. The fact that Cepot speaks more clearly when he is on drugs suggests that drugs are not nearly as threatening to society as corrupt individuals connected to the central regime.

The narrative is a critique of corrupt politicians and not its central ideology, Pancasila. But corruption involves political struggles, as Cepot notes, and these political struggles, manipulated from behind the scenes like a ram competition arranged by humans for sport (*adu domba*), may actually have the potential to destabilize the state and its ideology. Therefore, government corruption cannot be separated from government ideology.

As the edited cuts of the recorded example indicate, the cassette went through extensive editing before it was ready for release. The New Order regime maintained a censorship board that exercised the authority to ban cassettes, but they rarely needed to enforce their authority because producers practiced a form of self-censorship in order to stay in business. The dialogue of "Cepot Triping" rattled the producers at Dian Recording Company because of Asep Sunandar's potent attacks on the Suharto regime. As Iik Setiawan, head of production, remarked, the original was far more pointed in its attacks against the government and the police: "because Asep is so spontaneous in his performances, we have to listen to the final product and do some editing before we distribute the product. Especially

before the period of Reformasi, Asep used many words and phrases that scared us, and that could be banned by the government. If you listen to the original recording of 'Cepot Triping,' you will hear Asep slandering the government, the police, and others.[26] Because we were worried, we cut, cut, cut. Then we consulted Asep, who said that was fine. Nowadays, we never edit. [laughs]" (interview, September 3, 2001).

The edited version was sharp in its critique but did not cross over the line of acceptable criticism. This scene indicates that problems with New Order politics can only be addressed by stepping outside the everyday mode of social discourse. Cepot will do anything to voice his political will, including taking Ecstasy, which gives him the confidence to speak. Drugs allow him to escape from any potential censure for stating his political views because he does not pose a threat to the authorities. Not only is he a clown, he is an intoxicated clown! Cepot uses drugs as a way to speak through an alternative discursive mode, where the problems associated with conventional discourse can be stated. As the official says, "if he were conscious, it [his views] wouldn't come out" because of Cepot's fear of reproach.

Like Jamar Media's recordings, Asep Sunandar's wayang bodoran performance style jumped out of the frame of wayang golek, provoking dalang and critics to question whether this was wayang at all. Extended sections of humor were widely embraced by audiences but condemned by older dalang and critics who claimed that excessive references to popular culture and risqué humor compromised the art of wayang golek. One criticism was that dalang had sold out to the audience. In 1994 an older dalang explained that "nowadays dalang follow the spectators. They used to guide the spectators."[27] Like his predecessor Jamar Media, who had earlier established an urban base of popularity among middle-class audiences and hosts, Asep Sunandar was flexible in adapting to new situations and conditions (sikon). He explained that the survival of the art form depends on its ability to be "mothered by time and fathered by the era" (*ngindung ka waktu, mibapa ka jaman*); in other words, dalang must adapt to contemporary urban, middle-class, white-collar audiences, who are more sophisticated and worldly: "There is the view that wayang has become outdated among the people. In my opinion, wayang has not become unfashionable, but the standard of appreciation is higher [more sophisticated]. People have become more worldly.

It's the dalang who have been left behind . . . in Sundanese, 'mothered by time and fathered by the era' [a proverb (*paribasa*): 'one must live in one's own time'] and in addition to being 'mothered by time and fathered by the era,' one must be well-educated so that wayang does not become boring and subsequently extinct" (pers. comm., January 15, 1995).

As he says, a dalang must be adept at reaching diverse audiences who have rapidly changing expectations. A dalang's ability to appeal to popular audiences depends on his capacity to adapt to his times, his ability to promote a distinctive specialization that targets an existing market, and his talent for incorporating innovative techniques that enable the traditional arts to compete with mass cultural forms.

Like his predecessor Jamar Media, Asep Sunandar appealed to audiences by appropriating other popular forms, speaking in multiple languages, and voicing social concerns that affected people's everyday lives. Dalang did not succumb to a prescribed set of artistic criteria dictated by official cultural apparatuses; rather, they broke the rules in order to secure the continuing interest of audiences. Cassettes did not simply mediatize live performance, they carved out a creative and lively space of their own in dialogue with live performance and other modern performance genres. Cassettes not only crystallized existing traditions, they generated new forms.

Due to the lack of written sources about the history of wayang golek, the link between Jamar Media and Asep Sunandar through cassettes suggests the following points. Tracing the history of wayang golek through cassettes reveals new genealogies and links that may not be acknowledged among dalang in other discursive modes (namely, autobiographical and promotional). Accused of breaking with tradition (*merusak tetekon*) or breaking the wayang frame, these dalang's efforts, viewed in historical perspective, may be more accurately described as making the frame. Kinship relations have become increasingly important in wayang golek in terms of opportunities for performance, consolidation of resources, and building a dalang's base of operations (see chapter 3). Artistically, however, cassettes exposed dalang to a wider range of regional and personal styles than ever before, and dalang branched out and appropriated these diverse resources as ways of keeping the art of the dalang responsive to their audiences.

Chapter 7

TELEVISUAL MEDIATIONS

A 1987 CARTOON in the Sundanese weekly magazine *Manglé* highlights the uneasy convergence between wayang golek and television during the New Order (fig. 7.1). The cartoon shows the clown servants Cepot and Dawala struggling to fit their three-dimensional bodies into the flat frame of a television set. Dawala's body bursts out of the set, visually depicting the difficulties enframing wayang golek as a televisual medium. Dawala fiddles with the controls on the set, showing his fascination for television as well as his desire to fine-tune the image on the screen. Cepot teasingly chastises his brother: "Stop fooling around, Dawala . . . it'll upset the owners of the set!" Clearly, Cepot and Dawala are guests in the living room of their hosts, who, at this point in time, were more accustomed to watching programs including *Hunter, The Six Million Dollar Man,* and *Dynasty.*

The text of the accompanying article articulates the emergent alliance between wayang golek, television, and the state. In this article, Uncle and Nephew (Mang and Lo) comment on a televised performance of "modernized" wayang golek ("wayang golek dimoderenkeun"). Sitting in the audience are the vice president and his wife, the minister of information, and other high-ranking officials of the central government. The article suggests that in the New Order television is a form of social control in which media are used to discourage public gatherings by keeping people in their homes.[1] "Nephew" notes that televised wayang has the potential to keep teenagers

FIG. 7.1. Cartoon showing Cepot and Dawala on television, 1987

off the streets, especially on New Year's Eve, when teenagers are out acting like cowboys (*kokoboyan*), getting drunk, and racing their cars on the main road. Uncle remembers that people used to gather to watch wayang golek in public places and stay up all night, from the sound of the first gong to the last.[2] In this interesting reconfiguration of space and time, wayang golek has changed from a social all-night gathering into a tool to get people to stay home at night.

Televisual mediations of wayang golek performance opened up entirely new spaces for spectatorship beginning in the mid-eighties. In both rural and urban areas in West Java, Sundanese audiences experienced wayang golek, not only by viewing live performances but through televised broadcasts viewed in the home and in more public locations, including restaurants, small street-side shops (*toko*), food stalls (*warung*), and kiosks (*kios*).[3] While live performance remained a more frequent venue for wayang golek performers and audiences, mass mediation of wayang golek led to the emergence of new social spaces of interaction among performers, producers, and audiences, which in turn created new artistic approaches, reconfigured social relations, and transformed practices of signification. These transformations in cultural production, reception, and practice raised new questions for the study of wayang golek.

From 1962 to 1989 the national television network (Televisi Republik Indonesia, TVRI) had a monopoly on television programming in Indonesia. The conjunction between wayang golek and television gave rise to a public arena in which the cultural functions, formal qualities of performance, and audience formations of wayang golek were debated. Television changed in the nineties with the addition of several private commercial stations: RCTI (Rajawali Citra Televisi Indonesia) first transmitted programs in 1989, followed by SCTV (Surabaya Centra Televisi) in 1990, TPI (Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia) in 1991, and Indosiar in 1995.[4] The private commercial stations introduced novel ways of televising wayang golek, but only TVRI broadcasted wayang golek on a fairly regular basis. In the late eighties, wayang golek was broadcast twice a month (S. Williams 1990, 213). In 1996, toward the end of the Suharto era, a spin-off of wayang golek, called *The Asep Show,* was introduced as part of TPI's programming during Ramadan. The mass mediation of wayang golek in late New Order

Indonesia significantly affected its artistic form and the social status of its performers.[5] Through its unique style of representation, which challenged modes of narrativity and codes of representation associated with New Order culture on private television stations, *The Asep Show* reveals shifts in notions of identity—defined along axes of region, ethnicity, and nation—between the New Order era and the post-Suharto era.

TVRI

Wayang golek became part of the national television apparatus of TVRI in the mid-eighties. TVRI acts as an information apparatus to construct an "audience-as-nation," that is, an audience that needs "to be informed, educated, and enlightened for the good of the national development process" (Kitley 1992, 82). TVRI's programming consists of "news, information, educational, and entertainment programs" (Susanto 1978, 244). Eighty percent of all programs are produced by TVRI; the remaining 20 percent are imported from abroad (Ashadi Siregar, quoted in Jurriens 2001, 59).

TVRI includes the main station in Jakarta as well as regional stations located in each province. Television viewers in Bandung, for example, are capable of receiving the main Jakarta station as well as the branch station in Bandung. The process of integrating people into the national formation is carried out through the main Jakarta station and the regional stations. Programs in the national language are produced by the central station of TVRI in Jakarta by a centralized group of producers for a national market. Shows that represent the plurality of people of diverse regional cultures emphasize their sameness as Indonesians and not their differences in terms of, for example, class, race, ethnicity, language, or religion. Cultural diversity is important in order to produce unity—the hallmark of the New Order—and political debate is eliminated altogether.

This compartmentalization of national and regional programming was part of the discourse of culture in the New Order.[6] Each regional station was under the direction of TVRI Jakarta but had some input on local programming. Programs in regional languages were produced by TVRI regional stations, located in each province, for audiences in those provinces.

TVRI regional stations broadcast dramas, comedies, and traditional theatrical productions in regional languages (Jurriens 2001, 60) as well as fillers with local content between shows (e.g., "Batak Song" or "Dance from East Timor"). Shows featured very little interaction among people of different ethnic groups, de-emphasizing any potential conflict. While provincial TVRI programming reflected local content, the marking of difference within a framework of unity—"unity in diversity"—was part of TVRI's mission to develop an Indonesian national culture.[7]

Wayang Golek on TVRI

Wayang golek programming, produced at the regional station in Cibaduyut, Bandung, had a crucial role to play on the national television station. The New Order government identified wayang as an instrument for spreading information to people in the most remote villages of Java. Wayang golek served as a representative "text" to promote development by incorporating themes related to education, information, and the state ideology, Pancasila. In exchange, dalang obtained public image promotion and official recognition, which led to greater opportunities for them as performers.

During the eighties and nineties television was at the center of discussions and public debates about the mass mediation of wayang golek, perhaps because it was the newest of the electronic media to engage this performing art.[8] Prescriptive categories concerning wayang golek performance on television emerged as artists, elites, aficionados, government officials, and TV producers publicized their views in numerous newspaper articles, officially sponsored seminars, and publications circulated to dalang.[9]

One may ask what these public arenas of cultural discourse have to do with performances of wayang, which occurred more frequently in live performance village settings in conjunction with ritual feasts throughout West Java. First, televised wayang reaches essentially the same audience as live performance. Second, these debates inform the construction and creation of a television audience that is crucial to the successful production of wayang broadcasts. Philip Kitley, referring to work by John Hartley (1987), comments that "the television audience is a construct of institutions such as the

television industry, regulatory authorities and critical institutions, all of whom present themselves as speaking on behalf of the audience they construct. The way the institutions involved in providing television services imagine the audience in part shapes the form and content of television broadcasts and the way the industry acts" (1992, 73).

Wayang golek does not reach producers with a ready-made form and audience attached, but its form as electronic art had to be constructed, along with effective links between performers, producers, time slots, and audiences simultaneously.[10] Producers were not altogether successful in their efforts to create these links in the early period of wayang broadcasts. The transition to television was the subject of debate by an audience highly critical of its production. Live performances of wayang golek encourage social interaction and, as such, have an unpredictable quality. These qualities of live performance are illustrated in the following quotation from a 1964 speech by wayang golek scholar M. A. Salmun, who contrasts watching a performance of wayang golek to watching a film:[11]

> [A] performance of wayang, wherever it takes place, whether at a hajat, a public celebration, or in an auditorium, cannot be separated [from the concept of] rendezvous. By that I mean a place for gathering people—women and men, old and young—and among those who come it's not 100 percent to watch the wayang performance; they have other intentions. Whatever those intentions are, whether to meet one's neighbors and friends, there exists the opportunity to find a partner, to look for wealth, or an invited guest, it's a rendezvous. It's different for those who want to watch a film, for example. From the time they leave their homes, they intend to watch the film. Once they arrive at the theater, in general, their attention is focused solely on the film. In fact, if someone tries to start a conversation, they're chastised. It's not that way for spectators of wayang. First, there are too many distractions. Over there is an acquaintance, there is a handsome guy, over there is a beautiful girl. There is the female singer, [looking] radiant. There is a couple having a spat. There is an invited guest acting rude. And many, many other examples. Spectators are not expected to pay attention like they're watching a film. (1964b, 56–57)

Salmun articulates the social and spatial differences between live performance of wayang golek and film. Wayang spectators come to a performance for different reasons, and there is a plurality of audience focus; that is, their attention is not trained solely on the stage. In fact, they may be less interested in the theatrical action and more drawn to wayang as a place to gather, socialize, and exchange ideas. As one dalang remarked, wayang golek's main mission (*misi*) was to "gather people together" (Dede Amung Sutarya, pers. comm., March 16, 1995).[12] In New Order Indonesia, a performance of wayang golek was perhaps the most effective way to organize a large number of people at a public nongovernment function in which their everyday social circumstances could be collectively discussed and debated. The importance of gathering has been described by Heryanto: "In the living memory of Indonesians, huge gatherings in the streets have been associated with some kind of (expected) significant social change. Although the everyday lives of most Indonesians have always been highly communal, gatherings on the people's initiative have tended to excite and intimidate New Order authorities. Precisely for this reason the New Order, capitalising [on] the martial law–like stability and order framework, has minimised gatherings which it does not sponsor. . . . Reminding us of societies where martial law was necessarily imposed, in Indonesia today one is formally supposed to get a special permission to hold any meeting of more than five people" (1990, 296). In a country where the press and electronic media were strictly controlled, these occasions provided the potential for the effective spreading of news and rumors, which were thought to be more reliable than the official news (Harsono 1995).[13]

Television, like film, brought new audience configurations and social expectations. Bridging these social terrains and expectations forced dalang to transform performance practice for television. According to several television critics, however, the unpredictable improvisatory quality of wayang was ill suited to television. During the early stages of wayang golek television broadcasts (1986), a critic urged Asep Sunandar Sunarya, by far the most popular performer during the mid-eighties, as follows: "In various performance contexts, Asep has the opportunity to improvise, appropriate to the particular situation and the audience. On television it seems that one can't do that. In the future, when Asep Sunarya performs on TVRI, don't

rely on improvisation alone. One has to have a scenario, at least a synopsis to eliminate the impression of restlessness, so that the story moves along" ("RD: Irawan" 1986, 23).

One reason that dalang cannot rely on improvisation in television broadcasts is that broadcasts of wayang golek are limited to short performances. As one government official said in 1989, "Don't play all night! Today's spectators are busy!" (R. Ading Affandie, quoted in Subagio 1989, 5).[14] The director of the station in Bandung noted that the "medium of television should be brief, concise, and attractive" (xxiii).[15] The twenty-five broadcasts I viewed, with two exceptions, were all limited to fifty-five minutes each and began at eight in the evening.[16] Fitting a play traditionally requiring six to nine hours into just under one hour necessitated drastic editing. Typically the elements that were eliminated or drastically shortened included: murwa (opening invocatory pieces), lakon (plotlines), kirata (formulaic descriptions of characters and places), nyandra (sung narrative descriptions), kakawen (mood songs), and *lagu jalan* ("traveling" songs that function as bridges between scenes). These are the very elements that dalang consider to be the most basic to wayang golek. As Dalang Dede Amung Sutarya explains, "on TV, it has to be abbreviated, whereas in wayang the murwa alone lasts an hour, and in that one hour one story has to resolve. Perhaps dalang have lost out. It's possible alright, but much has to be sacrificed. First, kirata; second, nyandra. . . . Sometimes the music is too fast. Slow tempos are impossible—only short sawilet forms are possible. Perhaps if there were people at the station who understood . . . wayang, then sacrifices would not have to be made and the art of the dalang would improve" (Dede Amung Sutarya, pers. comm., March 16, 1995).

So, the question becomes, What is left of the performance if dalang are forced to delete these essential elements? While several dalang I talked to found the time constraint extremely difficult to adjust to, the three most seasoned performers had already developed their own strategies. In 1994, Tjetjep Supriadi treated his broadcast performances as if he were competing in the annual state-sponsored wayang golek contest (Binojakrama) in which individual sections of the one-hour time frame are balanced in length and conception and the logic of the story is emphasized. Dede

Amung composed one four-hour story, which he divided into a series of four equal sections and presented as different episodes on four separate broadcasts. Asep Sunandar's performance strategy was the most consistent with the suggestions offered by a high government official who urged dalang to "emphasize the spectacle! Today's people are tired, and need entertainment that is light and lively" (Affandie, quoted in Subagio 1989, 5).[17] Inspired by the formal demands of the medium, his frequent performances on television emphasized lively comic sections, spectacular battle scenes, and precise puppet manipulation. He claims Disney cartoon characters and Hong Kong martial arts actors among his models (Asep Sunandar Sunarya, pers. comm., June 7, 1994). Asep Sunandar's visual innovations, including the use of a bow and arrow, are ideally suited for the close visual emphasis of television, and his popularity is directly connected to his ability to meet the demands of the mass media for stylistic innovation.

Several writers have suggested that television could show wayang golek in greater detail.[18] Danasasmita notes, for example, that one can see the carving of the puppets better. He also suggests that if the wayang puppet is "on stage" too long, the spectators will become conscious that it is a piece of wood. According to Danasasmita, "it's like watching a fight scene in a movie: after a while, if the technique is not good, one realizes the actors are pretending" (1983, 9). In effect, Danasasmita uses a traditional category of aesthetic criterion frequently mentioned by dalang—the extent to which the puppet comes to life in the dalang's hands and is more than simply a piece of wood—to develop a new television aesthetic.

Some commentators have suggested that wayang golek actually works better on television. The newspaper article entitled "Who Disseminated Wayang Golek?" states, "Television, with its ability to record images from different directions and points of view, can produce broadcasts of wayang golek performance that are more pleasing to the eye. Battle scenes between Gatotkaca and the Kurawa can be intensely illuminated so that [one may] more clearly see the dexterity and art of the dalang manipulating the wayang. But when we watch wayang in the usual setting, everything is seen from the same distance. This may explain why programs of wayang golek on TV are so interesting to viewers" ("Siapa Penyebar" 1989).

In fact, people tend to move around quite a bit in live performance and hence can also change their perspective and viewing distance by moving to different places with respect to the stage. Television, on the contrary, immobilizes the viewer in a stationary position. Yet, at any given moment one's perspective is changed by highly variable camera angles, close-ups, pans, fades, and the juxtaposition of images. These camera techniques and special effects, while certainly appreciated for their novelty, raised new questions about the more passive role of the audience in controlling the perspective from which to view an image.

These conditions contrast with those in a televised performance, which changes the focus of the audience from being participants to acting as critics, in the sense described by Walter Benjamin writing about film: "[T]he performance of the actor is subjected to a series of optical tests. This is the first consequence of the fact that the actor's performance is presented by means of a camera. Also, the film actor lacks the opportunity of the stage actor to adjust to the audience during his performance, since he does not present his performance to the audience in person. This permits the audience to take the position of a critic, without experiencing any personal contact with the actor. The audience's identification with the actor is really an identification with the camera. Consequently the audience takes the position of the camera" (1968, 228–29).

While Sundanese audiences have more opportunities to interact with performers in a live situation than do audiences who attend performances of staged European drama, a similar kind of distance emerged between the audience and the performer in the absence of personal contact. The identification of the audience with the camera in place of the actor himself positions the audience as critic in the context of televised performance, rather than as participant within a live setting. The audience is subsequently divested of its control over the content and form of the performance. Instead, the producers, directors, and camera operators have complete authority over the product, about which the audience can only comment after the fact, as it were, as critics.

The most radical difference between the all-night context and the afternoon recording sessions is that during the latter no audience is present. Effendie's suggestion to have an audience present in the studio to react to the

dalang was never taken up with any seriousness (Effendie, in Subagio 1989, 23). In the five recording sessions I attended and the many broadcasts I viewed, a studio audience was shown only once, and those sections were inserted by the station editor. In the studio the camera operators and musicians were the dalang's only audience. Musicians' responses to the dalang's narration, dialogue, and jokes became even more crucial than usual as the musicians tried to approximate a live performance setting.

It is said that in performance, a successful dalang "must be capable of adapting to his community environment" (Subagio 1989, 58).[19] A good dalang is sensitive to the "situations and conditions," or sikon, of a performance. Ade Kosasih notes that the process of constituting a large group of people as an attentive audience took several hours; capturing their imaginations involved elaborate puppet manipulation, captivating music, and jokes that could "stir the stomach" (*ngocok perut*) (pers. comm., July 12, 1994). For television, as well as cassette recordings, however, the dalang can only imagine the nature of the production's target audience. His immediate audience consists of his musicians, as well as the station director and assistants, the program producer, camera operators, and editors. At a performance in conjunction with a hajat, the dalang feels "satisfied" because he can adjust if the audience "doesn't like the jokes, doesn't like a lot of talking, doesn't like to watch dance" (Dede Amung Sutarya, pers. comm., May 1, 1995).[20] In a studio recording, the dalang must rely on the television production staff, musicians, and sheer imagination in lieu of audience feedback. Dalang adjusted to performing without audience reactions but commented that the specific conditions and spontaneity of a performance were compromised.

Television producers used wayang golek as an instrument to communicate state nationalist ideology. One way the state television station exerted its authority over the performance "text" was to eliminate audiences from attending broadcasts. Audiences would have exerted their own desires and expectations, and dalang would have responded by representing their interests. The exclusion of audiences limited representation to the objectives of the state television station, and it also eliminated any reaction whatsoever from an audience to the messages that the dalang was hired to transmit.

The Effects of TVRI on Wayang Golek

TVRI broadcasts of wayang golek, like the national radio station, RRI, purportedly aimed to give dalang more opportunities to perform.[21] However, with the exception of station employees and government officials who had become amateur dalang, the majority of broadcasts featured already well-known performers. These were the only performers who could afford to pay for transportation, food, and a small honorarium for musicians.[22] Bandung-based performers and troupes enjoyed a dominant position because they were in close proximity to the regional station, which is in Bandung. Further, criteria for selection were determined by the station director and not by a team of dalang (as was the case with the national radio station network), and it was more convenient and cost effective for the director to hire local performers. In this sense, the operation of the television station paralleled the gatekeeping practices of the cassette industry. Those who were recorded were certain to attract audiences, which is why producers chose them in the first place. Nonstars were therefore excluded from recording and stars became even more widely circulated because of their privileged access to the public.

Criteria for selection were also based partly on how well TVRI could compete with private commercial stations, which, during the fieldwork period, were more likely to offer audiences modern entertainment forms including dangdut, pop Sunda, and *pop Indonesia;* therefore, station directors were even less likely to take risks on lesser-known dalang.[23] Further, lesser-known dalang lacked the proper professional connections to pursue opportunities on television, whereas top dalang enjoyed established relationships with station directors. Also, even on rare occasions when they were offered the opportunity, lesser-known dalang cited the high cost of performing on television.

In effect, the nature and production of these mediations helped to determine a field of representation that privileged certain cultural texts while submerging or excluding others. While top stars enjoyed greater status and wealth than ever before, less popular performers slowly began to disappear. As one cassette producer observed in relation to one of the most popular stars in current practice, "he has progressed, but [the art of] wayang has

declined" (pers. comm., Gugum Gumbira). While television broadcasts did not replace live performance, a star system helped to professionalize wayang performance and continued to limit representation to a small select group of superstar performers.

As a technology of cultural production, circulation, and spectatorship, mass mediations constituted a distinct "regime of representation" for wayang golek performance (Foucault 1972). This new regime of representation defined itself in the relations among performers, audiences, producers, technicians, and government officials as well as in the changing aesthetic aims, forms, and content of wayang golek.

The Asep Show *on TPI*

TVRI productions of wayang golek in the eighties had few redeeming qualities as either television or puppet theater. From 1989 to 1995 there were four private commercial stations—RCTI, SCTV, TPI, and the recently established Indosiar—but only TVRI was broadcasting wayang golek on a fairly regular basis. Indosiar began to broadcast wayang golek performances with better results beginning in 1995. In contrast to TVRI, Indosiar created interesting and innovative ways to attract audiences by introducing wayang golek with painted backdrops, special effects, and multiple camera angles to view the productions. Indosiar even began broadcasting all-night performances and shooting on location. The private stations also developed new kinds of wayang for television, including a program called *The Asep Show*.

Toward the end of ex-president Suharto's New Order regime, and recurring nightly during Ramadan every year since then, a new program featuring a Sundanese puppet and Indonesian actors and comedians began airing. Introduced during Ramadan 1996, *The Asep Show*—named after the popular puppeteer, Asep Sunandar Sunarya, who helped create it—ran on national television station TPI (Indonesian Educational Television) Monday through Friday, enlivening people's mood just before the program announcing the end of that day's fasting period.[24] In these programs, the actors tell jokes to keep people's minds off the fast—the jokes "fill their stomachs with laughter" during the hardest part of the day.[25]

The Asep Show features the Sundanese puppet character Cepot, although the real star of the show is arguably the dalang, Asep Sunandar Sunarya. In the all-night puppet theater performances of wayang golek, Cepot embodies a boisterous and outspoken country bumpkin whose obscene language and carnivalesque humor challenge elitist social conventions and class hierarchies. Through his style of speaking Sundanese, dancing regional dances, his village appearance and demeanor, and his direct form of expression, Cepot has long been a site for defining the macho (*jago*) attitude of Sundanese males (see chapter 4).

How did Cepot, a regional Sundanese clown, become a fixture on national television?[26] What does Cepot mean within the context of television? How does this televisual Cepot articulate with the changing social and cultural terrain of Indonesia from 1996 to the present? Based on my analysis of shifts in the production, circulation, and meaning of Cepot as a mass-mediated text in discourses of the Indonesian nation,[27] I contend that *The Asep Show* has helped reimagine the cultural space of the nation, precisely by offering new ways of thinking about and representing the relationship between regional and national culture.

The Asep Show, broadcast across the entire archipelago, suggests modes of identification with the imagined Indonesian nation. On the show, Cepot appears in a multiplicity of made-for-television settings: a village (kampung), an upper-class Jakarta home, a train station, a beach, a space ship, a shoe store, and a palace, among others. Corruption is everywhere and the problems of Indonesia's capital city Jakarta take center stage: bank scandals, money laundering scams, narcotics, and crime are the main themes addressed in the programs. Shows are performed in the Indonesian language, with a distinct Sundanese or Jakarta accent, and include a smattering of English phrases. Part Sundanese wayang golek, part Javanese *ketoprak humor*[28] drama, part sitcom, and part sketch comedy, the show blends theatrical traditions into a new hybrid comic form to talk about money, power, and corruption in post-Suharto Indonesia.

The Asep Show played during Ramadan. When TPI introduced the program, in 1996, most of its Ramadan programs had a strictly religious orientation, although program formats differed (talk shows or proselytizing [*dakwah*] were common). In order to compete with those programs, *The*

Asep Show introduced a comic orientation, manifested through Sundanese regional performing arts and performed by Asep Sunandar, a dalang with a national reputation. Producers felt that the show would be competitive with strictly religious shows because it delivered messages that were non-dogmatic and it dealt with down-to-earth everyday concerns ("'Asep Show' Tetap" 2001). In 2000 and 2001 it was just one of several comedy shows televised during Ramadan, leading one critic to call the fasting month "a month full of laughter on television" ("Setahun Sekali" n.d.). *The Asep Show* blended television with the pace of Ramadan; a ticking clock in the upper-right-hand corner of the screen indicated the countdown to the end of the day's fast.[29]

The Asep Show was created for a national audience, not a regional audience, but it has a regional specificity. It is full of Sundanese cultural signifiers: Cepot begins each program by dancing jaipongan or performing penca silat martial arts movements; Sundanese gamelan accompanies the entrances and exits of characters and provides sound effects; and the Sundanese characters speak Indonesian with heavily inflected, and somewhat exaggerated, Sundanese accents. Sundanese elements of music, dance, and language are juxtaposed with Javanese, Balinese, and Sumatran music, dance, and language. The main actors in the show include Cepot, film and television entertainers (*artis*) and comedians (*pelawak*) from various comedic theater genres, including Betawi *lenong,* Javanese ketoprak, and Sundanese topeng banjet, among others. In 2001 the "guest artists" also included politicians, cultural critics, and other public personalities. The programs take place in different settings across the archipelago and include plots drawn from legendary tales from the history of central Java ("Roro Mendut [a Javanese princess] and Prono Citro [a Javanese prince]") and Sumatran folklore ("The Tale of Malin Kundang"). *The Asep Show* highlights these ethnic differences by making fun of them all. The actors' dialogue emphasizes the encounters between people who speak different languages, move their bodies in different ways, and live in different places in Indonesia. It is not so much what is said, but how it is said, or, in Benedict Anderson's terms (1983, 6), the style in which this national community is imagined.

Three programs exemplify these trends. In a program broadcast on November 17, 2001, entitled "Menunggu Glodok" (Waiting for Glodok),[30]

Cepot's opening message—delivered in a manner similar to the way he delivers long monologues in wayang golek theater—urges youth to stay away from drugs, because drugs will distract them from the important role they can play in rebuilding the nation after Suharto. The comedy begins with a conversation between Cepot (an undercover cop disguised as a newspaper vendor) and a Javanese candy seller about the pronunciation and different ways of saying certain words. They overemphasize their regional accents (Sundanese and Javanese): the Javanese man shouts "pantat merah, pantat hijau" (red butts, green butts), a play on the word Fanta, a soft drink that comes in bright red (cherry) and green (lime) colors. Cepot corrects him in his heavy Sundanese accent, but the man argues that the slang language (*prokem*) is more trendy and appropriate to the times. As Cepot and the candy seller view the train schedule for that day, they make humorous banter about various cities on the island of Java: Bandung, Yogyakarta, and Malang. These parodies on regional vernaculars and places—the collision of linguistic and cultural codes through humor—highlight rather than submerge cultural and ethnic difference on television.

Program themes deal critically and rather transparently with social political topics. Although it was not uncommon for dalang to critique existing social political conditions in wayang golek during the Suharto regime, such discourse became acceptable on national television only toward the end of the Suharto era. Among the eleven programs I viewed in 2001, three dealt with selling illegal products (drugs, firecrackers, stolen jeans), two were about selfish and corrupt leaders, two were about investments embezzled by company executives, two were anti-Development, one dealt with anti-imperialism, and one was about the formation of a new political party, organized by an escaped mental hospital patient. Of the eleven shows, four ended in arrests.

Global news events made their way into the program seamlessly. In the program entitled "Memburu Harta Karun" (Finding hidden treasure, November 11, 2001), a group of beings from another planet travels to earth to find treasure. They destroy a large rock with a powerful weapon and a mythical Balinese-looking beast emerges. The only defense against this dancing beast is to yell "anthrax" repeatedly and the beast is chased away. Cepot notes that if anthrax scared people in the United States, then it might work here as well.

A third program, "Wow Seram" (A hair-raising experience, November 24, 2001), is based on an anti-Development theme. Cepot has retired and is living in a quiet village in the countryside. Two men, representing a development company of some kind, offer to buy his home for a huge sum of money. Cepot continually refuses the offer. His wife, however, urges Cepot to take the money so they can move to the city, buy things, and lead a modern lifestyle. Suddenly a ghost appears, scaring the villagers, and they decide to call a psychic. Of course, the ghost is a ruse by the two men to intimidate the "backward" villagers into selling. Finally, Cepot's friend, a typical country bumpkin, pulls out a knife and chases the men, and their development plans, out of the village.

Cepot on Indonesian Television

Who is this Indonesianized version of Cepot? Cepot's character in *The Asep Show* has generated a great deal of commentary, which has become part of the texts circulated about the meaning of the show. On *The Asep Show,* Cepot appears in a different role in each program; he has been called an empty vessel (*bak*) and a chameleon (*bunglon*). Commentators have remarked that Cepot is no longer Cepot, the son of Semar, the clown servant of the five Pandawa brothers in the Mahabharata, and the voice of the people. He is a dislocated Cepot, an entertainer or mediator among guest artists, who is no longer connected to the people he represents or to the family, heroes, and land/nation he serves.

The most prevalent commentaries were written in 1998–99, around the time of Suharto's ouster from power, when a series of articles was published including: "When Cepot Appears on TV" (January 9, 1998); "Cepot Loses His Stamina" (June 29, 1999); "Wayang Golek Follows the Taste of Its Audiences" (1999). In these articles, Cepot embodies all the qualities that the leaders of the late New Order and early Reformasi lack: Cepot is honest, direct, earthy, and uncomplicated. In an article published in the online newsmagazine *Kompas* in January 1998, Cepot's simple lifestyle and brutally honest disposition are contrasted with the excessive wealth and material consumption associated with the nepotistic and collusive practices common

to Indonesian politics and business. Although close to the sources of power, the author states, Cepot "never asks for bribes for projects, which he then sells for profit without expending any effort." Further, "the term 'commission' does not exist in Cepot's vocabulary." In this article Cepot takes on a heroic dimension in narratives of the nation. In contrast to "most of the people close to power, who live in his country," Cepot actually cares about the future of the nation (*bangsa*). Cepot's character within a discourse of the nation emerges clearly in the following quote:

> In the country of the white elephant [Thailand], the slogan "Thailand for Thais" reverberates as far as our own archipelago. . . . Even the people go along with the government's urging to cash in their American dollars for baht. In South Korea women strip themselves of their gold to sell for the gold reserves of the nation. Cepot marvels that in one day, ten tons of gold, valued at $100 million was amassed. And what about Indonesia? If Cepot ever has time to go to a mall, he will see the women with their expensive clothes, complete with gold-and-diamond jewelry, compete for the most expensive items to be found. . . . My God, as the value of the dollar climbs to close to 10,000 rupiahs, can't they recognize the simplicity and honesty of Cepot? ("Ketika Cepot" 1998)

The writer attributes national disintegration to the powerful economic classes of Jakarta society, signified here by the wives of Jakarta's elite. If only those rich women who frequented the malls were a little more like Cepot, who cares deeply about the state of the nation, then perhaps the rupiah's value would stop falling. If only they pooled their wealth, as the nationalistic Thais and South Koreans do, then perhaps the nation of Indonesia would hold together more cohesively. The Indonesianization of Cepot represents a way of nationalizing his populist social criticism. Cepot, who has been bluntly criticizing the corrupt practices of individuals in Sundanese wayang golek, brings his populist messages to the mass media, where the lines of acceptable criticism have been redefined on the national level.

Wayang golek on TVRI was part of the state's effort to interpellate its audience as members of the nation. After the fall of Suharto the private commercial stations challenged the instrumentalist role of television as a state apparatus. *The Asep Show,* which began airing in 1996, was marked by

a different conception of narrativity and the implementation of a competing set of representational codes. The contrasting style of imagining the nation on *The Asep Show* has parallels with the business practices of the private commercial stations. Kitley (2000, 245) suggests that the private commercial stations present a challenge to TVRI and its project of constructing the nation. The private stations aim to produce niche markets that fracture the national audience: "commercial channels appeal to and *differentiate* between individuals and groups" (ibid.; emphasis Kitley's) by relying on imported programming. Although TVRI and private stations are purportedly integrated, they are not. Private stations challenge the unitary official culture of TVRI (337).

The Asep Show, a locally produced program, presents a similar challenge to the New Order categories of local, ethnic, national, and global. Here is a TV program on the national television network, in the national language, concerning national problems, and targeted to a national audience. But the regional ethnic codes through which this narrative is delivered—language, music, dance, and visual imagery—are not the codes of the New Order national cultural model. Unlike the New Order's "compartmentalized" discourse of culture, this narrative style brings different cultural texts together in a more confrontational and less integrated manner. Spectators enjoy the improvised, free, and unregulated style of discourse, using words like *kacau* (chaotic) and *ngawur* (free-floating) to describe the program.

In New Order cultural discourse, local content was subsumed under the regulatory power of the nation-state. In *The Asep Show* local characters use local accents to comment on national events. Characters speak the national language, Bahasa Indonesia, but, in contrast to New Order puppet theater programs such as *Si Unyil,* the language is not spoken in its official standard form (*baik dan benar*) (Kitley 2000, 139). *The Asep Show* brings Indonesian characters into contact with narratives of transnational or global political economy (Korea, Thailand, the United States), and commentaries on the show reiterate these encounters. *The Asep Show* flips the New Order model on its head, revealing a schism between New Order production of culture and post-Suharto trends in cultural production and reception.

Chapter 8

MEDIATING THE NATION IN POST-SUHARTO INDONESIA

> Di mana lamun aparatur geus ngali**med**, alim ulama geus geye**bed**, nu beunghar geus kararu**med**, jeung nu miskin geus kekere**med**,[1] karusakan geus di ambang panto.
>
> Whenever a state apparatus is putting its interests before the people, religious scholars are driven by profit, the rich have become stingy, and the poor have become thieves—destruction is knocking at the door.

In the interview quoted above,[2] Dalang Asep Sunandar presaged the destruction that was "knocking on [Indonesia's] door" in late 1996 and early 1997. His forecast also indicates that, even before the Southeast Asian currency crisis of 1997, social tensions in Indonesia were simmering and threatening to boil over. As if narrating the lines of a dialogue in a wayang golek performance—each phrase above ends in the same sound (in bold print)—Asep Sunandar expressed the frustration and rage that his audiences were feeling toward corruption within the Suharto government, exploitation and profiteering by Islamic religious leaders, and the widening inequalities between rich and poor. Tensions erupted in May 1998, when angry crowds burst onto the streets of Jakarta protesting the collapsing economy and the corruption of the Suharto regime. On May 21, 1998, Suharto was forced

from office, ending his thirty-two-year reign and beginning one of the most vital and tumultuous periods in Indonesia's brief history.

After the demise of Suharto's New Order, wayang golek became a more open and critical space for Sundanese dalang to address national and global politics, relations between the state and civil society, and religious issues in post–New Order Indonesia. How did wayang golek respond to the changing conditions of social life among Sundanese in Indonesia, as the very foundation of the nation was being questioned? In what ways did wayang golek provide a critical framework for people to interpret the shifting terrain of national politics in the post-Suharto era?

The economic crisis of 1997 (*krisis moneter,* or *krismon*) and the political instability of the following three years had significant effects on wayang golek. The huge flows of capital that had extended to dalang through government and private patronage in the Suharto era practically dried up, resulting in a sharp decline in sponsorship for wayang golek performances. Due to a large drop in the frequency of public performances, it is not surprising that people sought out wayang golek recordings to fill the cultural gap. Although Sundanese could no longer afford to sponsor performances, they could afford to buy recordings. As sponsorship of live performances decreased, the demand for cassettes and VCDs (video compact discs)[3] increased. Illegal VCDs, made by individuals with camcorders at performances, were sold on the streets beginning in 1999. Cassette production and VCD performances became almost exclusively consolidated into the hands of Asep Sunandar as the superstar system had become even more narrowly focused on only one performer. Due to these conditions of cultural production, my analysis of the discourse and representation of wayang golek in the post-Suharto era is based primarily on Asep Sunandar's five commercially produced cassettes that were recorded and released between 1998 and 2001.[4] As the most dominant trendsetter among dalang of his generation, Asep Sunandar's cassettes signal a new direction for wayang golek in terms of topical content, narrative style, and production quality. I also contend that Asep Sunandar responded to audience desires for wayang golek to become more openly critical of the past, which enabled him to gain a level of popularity that eluded his competitors.

Struggles over power and political representation resonated loudly in the theater of wayang golek as the shifts in political leadership stimulated a loosening of restrictions and censorship. A poetic statement by Dalang Asep Taruna sums up the nature of performing under the repressive conditions of the New Order period: "In the New Order, toll roads were cemented, airstrips were cemented, hotels were cemented, and our mouths were cemented shut. If our mouths were not cemented shut, well, that could have been dangerous!" (Asep Taruna, pers. comm., August 28, 2001).

Using the example of the cement industry, one of the most corrupt businesses in the New Order, Asep Taruna articulates the relationship between government development plans to build roads, airstrips, and hotels, and the constraints imposed on dalang who speak out against such development. In the New Order, dalang who criticized the corrupt practices of the cement and other industries owned by the Suharto family ran the risk of being threatened, blacklisted, or jailed. After the fall of Suharto, these restrictions were lifted and dalang were no longer constrained to keep their mouths cemented shut.

Some dalang, however, were wary about celebrating the new freedom of expression offered within the framework of post-Suharto political reform (Reformasi). In a 1999 interview conducted during the Habibie regime, about a year after the fall of Suharto, Dede Amung stated that dalang must follow an "ethical code" during times of political crisis. According to that code, dalang have a responsibility to temper their criticism of political leaders, because if dalang were to become too critical, anarchy could prevail. Dede Amung's belief in the power of wayang golek to cause anarchy was somewhat exaggerated. Wayang golek had traditionally not challenged institutions of power but had limited its critique to the ways in which these institutions had been abused by corrupt or self-interested individuals. The formation of a code of ethics in times of political crisis, however, highlights the perception among Sundanese that dalang had the authority to shape political consciousness but were not politicians per se.[5] On the other hand, Dede Amung was speaking in the political shadow of Suharto's handpicked successor, B. J. Habibie, a Golkar functionary, who was still in power. Any criticism of Suharto, his successor Habibie, or their party, Golkar, could jeopardize the dalang's career if Golkar were going to remain in power.

Tjetjep Supriadi, an older dalang and a member of DPR-D who had long been aligned with the Golkar regime, expressed an even more conservative position. Supriadi admonished dalang for using the word *Reformasi* in performance: "You can't be vulgar in wayang. . . . We live in an era of elections and reforms. Dalang shouldn't use the word *Reformasi!* Use wayang language [*bahasa wayang*]: how can people change their ways from a bad situation to a good one? That's Reformasi, isn't it? You don't need to use modern words. Because that's not wayang anymore! Wayang is from the word *reflect* [*bayang*]. Reflection of human beings [*bayangan orang*], reflection of events [*perilaku*], reflections of the culture and civilization [*peradaban hidup*]" (pers. comm., August 12, 1999).

Despite the new freedom of expression offered by changes in the central regime, Supriadi remained steadfast that dalang should leave out "vulgar" (direct) language. He argued that social change under the banner of Reformasi should be promoted by dalang, but only within the preexisting language and structure of wayang. The rather vague concept that leaders and citizens could "change from a bad situation to a good one" had to be communicated in a way that avoided any direct reference to real political figures, policies, and events. According to Supriadi, dalang who addressed the issues directly were not actually performing wayang at all. This view—coming from a respected dalang, politician, and high-ranking wayang organization official—had a strong impact on the wayang golek establishment of performers and critics but was not well received by audiences, who were tired of hearing the indirect language affiliated with New Order authority and desired to hear the new direct language in wayang golek.

Tjetjep Supriadi advocated that the concept of political reforms and elections should be referenced through "wayang language," that is, through allusive and metaphorical language. His view reflected a New Order principle of performance in which dalang were forced to be extremely careful in order to avoid government censure. In the New Order, the use of wayang language was a necessary strategy that enabled dalang to mount a critique of political actors and events without fear of reproach.

Asep Sunandar, on the other hand, felt that the majority of his audience did not understand the abstract language of wayang golek. These audiences were primarily young, male, urban industrial workers with little

formal education and a lack of social mobility. Asep Sunandar believed that wayang language opened up the possibility for a multiplicity of meanings to emerge through New Order performance but that it also closed off communication with audiences who had become increasingly unaware of the ways that symbolic language works in wayang. Spectators desired the characters, policies, and events of the national terrain to be narrated in clear and straightforward language. Asep Sunandar responded to audiences' desires for direct language and commentary on political issues after Suharto's ouster.

In order to reach his audiences, Asep Sunandar was compelled to debate current issues more openly and transparently (*transparan)* than he ever had during the New Order. This shift in wayang language did not rely on the practices of concealing and uncovering meaning. This is not to say, however, that he abandoned Sundanese poetic devices to bring the messages across in entertaining ways for his nonelite audiences. On the contrary, as illustrated in the following example from a Reformasi-era cassette, he delivered his message by using ending rhymes (*purwakanti tungtung* in bold), proverbs (*paribasa*), and punning humor (*plesetan*) to comment on the era of Reformasi:

di era globalisa**si**, asa jaman revolu**si**, di kota kasi**si** si**si**, hirup teu inggis ku bi**si**, komo di luhur mah euy parebut kor**si**, di jalan loba nu ak**si**, lalantarankeun jadina reak**si**, rayat anu repot ku na**si**, jalma loba terkontamina**si**, ku cara intimida**si**, marukana meureun rek berfung**si**, alatan loba kolu**si**, dibarengan ku korup**si**, kebal asa make baju beu**si**, samaruk henteu kasung**si**, ahirna mah direforma**si**.

in the age of globalization, an age of revolution, in towns on the borders, people are living without fear [*proverb*],[6] and even those at the top are fighting for position, and protests on the street, causing the government to react [with force], the people go without food, many are confused, through methods of intimidation, they think they will serve a function, but there is too much collusion, along with corruption, the leaders feel they are righteous, simply because they wear government uniforms, they think they won't be discovered, but in the end, there will be reforms.

sanajan eukeur mone**ter**, urang mah ulah kate**ter**, hirupna tong loba ngago**ler**, usahakeun ngidul nga**ler**.	although there is a monetary crisis, let's not give in, don't be silent, do whatever it takes.
sanajan harga mara**hal**, urang ulah rek dipake ar**al**, urang kudu loba a**kal**, neangan rejeki ha**lal**. Rayat mah asa kace**kek**, lantaran harga nara**ek**, matak sing loba kada**ek**, mending oge urang dagang baso ayo ah!	although prices are high, don't lose hope, let's use our minds, to find the righteous way. The people feel constrained, and the prices go up, we have to be creative, well, let's just go get some soup, OK?! [*humor*]

The example shows that a new critical vocabulary had entered the language of wayang golek. Not only was the term *Reformasi* used, but other anglicized terms made their way seamlessly into the language, poetry, and music of wayang golek, including *globalisasi* (globalization), *revolusi* (revolution), *aksi* and *reaksi* (action and reaction), *kontaminasi* (contamination), *intimidasi* (intimidation), *kolusi* (collusion), and *korupsi* (corruption). The lyrics of "Lagu Jaman Reformasi" (Song of the Reformasi era), composed by Dede Amung Sutarya in 1999, communicate the perspective of ordinary people (*ra'yat anu leutik*). They have lost faith in their leaders, who no longer represent the people, the state ideology, or religious values. The people have made compromises for the unity of the nation-state, and they have even been willing to cooperate with conglomerates, but they still cannot afford to buy basic foodstuffs like rice. The song demands that leaders be held accountable for the people's suffering.

Aduh-aduh sarerea mikacinta Na anu mana anu cinta ka ra'yatna Ideologi Pancasila (eu)jeung agama Cinta cinta lolobana cinta dunya	To all the people, whom I love, Where is the leader who loves the people? Ideology, Pancasila, and religion Most of the leaders just love wealth
Aduh-aduh gentra anu munggaran Datang harepan hayang sauyunan Konglomerat dipenta kasabaran Tuh ra'yat leutik geus loba nu kalaparan	With the first mandate (proclamation) Came the hope of unity Conglomerates asked us to be patient But look at the people who are starving!

Harita aya amanat
Cing rumasa Bapa asal ti ra'yat
Akibatna salah nepikeun amanat
Warga nu satia pangjungjung harkat martabat

At that time there was a mandate
That the leader should come from the people
But there was a mistake in delivering the message
The faithful carried their dignity.

Dina alam Reformasi
Perjuangan dulur masing jadi
Ulah ukur carita jeung jangji-jangji
Ra'yat anu leutik ulah jadi repot nasi

In the age of Reformasi
Our struggle must have results
Don't just talk and make empty promises
The little people should not have to starve.

These examples show that wayang golek had become a place to reflect on the New Order in a way that was not possible, at least not in public performance, during the New Order. During that period dalang were compelled to focus on future development (Surawisastra 1983), but now dalang began to rearticulate the past.

In the following example from the cassette recording "Rahwana Pejah" (Rahwana dies a slow death), Rahwana's kingdom of Alengka is at war with the hero Rama because of Rahwana's refusal to return the princess Sinta, whom Rahwana has abducted. Aswani Kumba, the son of Kumbakarna, chastises Senopati (General) Sayungsrana (Rahwana's commander-in-chief and a clear reference to Suharto) for not being responsive to the people's wishes. Aswani Kumba holds Sayungsrana accountable for not fulfilling his promise to deliver the people from their suffering. Using a slogan from the Sukarno era, *Am*anat *Pe*nderitaan *Ra*kyat (Ampera, Message of the people's suffering), the excerpt takes a critical stance toward the history of Indonesia's leadership.

ASWANI KUMBA: Panginditan anjeun baheula memeh diistrenan memeh dilantik naon? Pemberangkatan teh naon pan dek melaan nagara jeung bangsa sanggup ngemban Amanat Penderitaan Rakyat.

ASWANI KUMBA: What were your goals when you came to power? Those goals were to protect the country and its people and to be ready to help the people. Prove it! In the past, I heard you say, "I will

Buktikeun! Baheula ente kadenge ku kuring ceuceuleuweungan "aku akan membela wong cilik, wong cilik." Mana buktina? (*applause*)

protect and serve the poor." Where's the proof?! (*applause*)

The dialogue does not stop with questions about state leadership but extends to the sphere of religion as well. Even at the risk of offending religious leaders, the people, represented by Aswani Kumba, will not be deterred from expressing their anger. Government and religious leaders must be held accountable. Calling religion a mask (*kedok*), Aswani Kumba criticizes corrupt religious leaders (*kyai*) for stealing from the people and not "practicing what they preach."

SAYUNGSRANA: Yi, Yi, ulah leuwih teuing Yi. Eta teh deuleu ahli agama di dituna teh.

ASWANI KUMBA: Komo kitu. Kedok si agama teh. Ka batur kudu daek kitu ka batur kudu daek zakat jeung fitrah ari manehna nu ngomongna ngadagoan pamere mah batur. (*applause*) Siah. Agama dipake kedok. Ari rigig-rigig santri ari legeg-legeg ti pasantren maca Qur'an ti bubudak maca Hadits ti leuleutik tapi hirup teu akur jeung batur. Nu dihakan ladang basilat ladang korupsi. Goblog siah! (*laughter*) Hah. Mana buktina anu insaf? Mana buktina anu ningkat kaimanaan katakwaan ku ayana ente. Berarti ente tidak mau menceritakan hukum di depan pejabat. Munafik siah! (*applause*)

SAYUNGSRANA: Little brother, don't speak so openly. The religious experts will hear you.

ASWANI KUMBA: So what, let them! Religion can be a mask. To others, one should give tithes [in rice or money paid on the last day of Ramadan], but do they? They wait for people to give money to them! (*applause*) You scoundrels! Religion is used as a mask. They act like *santri* from the *pasantren,* reading the Qur'an and Hadits since childhood, but [in reality] they are not practicing what they preach. They live and eat as a result of their corruption. You idiot! (*laughter*) Where is the proof? Where is the proof of faith and piety? Why won't you agree to be tried in front of a public court? Hypocrite! (*applause*)

Another commentary on the Suharto regime appears in the recording of the lakon "Astrajingga Tiwikrama" (Astrajingga transforms). Batara Guru, the High God of the Universe, explains that there is trouble on earth. The

Candradimuka volcano, representing Indonesia's people, has been flaring up and threatens to cause massive destruction. The god Narada explains that meteorologists and physicists have attributed this impending disaster to El Niña, a weather phenomenon that resulted in drought in Indonesia in 1997. Forests are burning out of control, a reference to the fires in East Kalimantan between late 1997 and May 1998. Narada adds, however, that human beings are responsible for destroying the earth. Cars and pollution have caused a hole in the ozone layer. Narada explains that he has already told leaders on earth to stop giving licenses to factories in the cities that dump garbage and chemicals freely without concern for the environment. But the leaders on earth are not listening. As long as the money keeps coming in, the stamps of approval will keep going out. Arjuna, representing the leaders, asks Cepot, representing the people, to sacrifice himself to save the world. But Cepot has been held "responsible" for society too many times. He replies:

CEPOT: Mun kitu ieu dunia teh ruksak ku abdi sorangan. Anu ngaruksakna loba nu katempuhan abdi. Na(ha) teung-teuingan anu leutik ngan ukur dipenta ngan ukur dititah sungut we dibeton. Ngomong saeutik ditewak ngomong sautak-saeutik dikerem. Pajarkeun teh bahaya laten. Teu dibere kebebasan anu leutik teh.

CEPOT: Is it my fault the world is in such a mess? The ones who did this are many, so why am I being held responsible? Why haven't they asked forgiveness from the people? The people are asked to help, they are ordered to help, but their mouths are cemented shut. If they talk even a little, they'll be put in jail. If they talk at all, they're locked up. They're labeled latent dangers [*bahaya laten*] to society. The little people are trapped.

For Cepot, self-sacrifice is a form of imprisonment. He refuses to follow the will of the leaders this time. Instead, Cepot chews one of the magical tufts of his father's hair and is transformed into a giant. Rather than getting lost among the masses of people whose voices will never be heard, Cepot actually gets physically bigger. He chases the leaders Arjuna, Gatotkaca, and Batara Guru, who flee, signifying their unwillingness to listen to the people's wishes. Cepot ascends to Heaven to confront the gods. He threatens Batara Guru,

who asks his brother Semar to help him defeat Cepot the giant. But Semar, Cepot's father, refuses to let Batara Guru off so easily. Rather, Semar (also representing the people) chastises Batara Guru (representing the state) and delivers the message of the tale in direct language. Using a Suharto-era slogan, "Era Tinggal Landas," referring to an age in which the foundation of economic development has been firmly established, Semar asks why, after so many years of sacrifice, the country is still suffering from economic and political instability. Semar places the blame for the country's woes squarely in the leaders' laps. He even translates the metaphor (the erupting volcano represents the people's anger) for anyone who still does not understand:

SEMAR: Aspirasi ieu teh, kudu cepat tanggap ilaing. Panasna Kawah Candradimuka teh, tah panasna hate jelema hate nu leutik deuleu. Pararanas kabeh teh ayeuna teh deuleu! Lir durukan huut. Tah, kari anjeun buru-buru ngagunakeun lengkah anu kongkrit, pro-aktif, kumaha cara jeung katangtuanana pikeun ngaronjatkeun kahirupan masyarakat anu berbangsa, bernagara, kalayan anu leuwih demokratis. Kapan cita-cita sarerea teh nyaeta nuju kana "Era Tinggal Landas," tapi naha atuh ngadon titeuleum dina landasan anu leuwih jero ieu teh kumaha? Aeh aeh.

SEMAR: You have to be quick to understand the people's aspirations. The heat from the Candradimuka volcano represents the people's anger. They're boiling over! They're burning up inside! You have to act fast, with steps that are concrete, proactive, and do whatever it takes to help people improve their lives and to become invested in the nation, the state, and democracy. If we have supposedly reached the apex of "Era Tinggal Landas," why is there so much more to do?

Totonden. Pek geura intropeksi sewang-sewangan. Cing inget yen cilaka jeung salametna jalma teh gumantung kana amal perbuatanana. Nya, tah, pangna kajadian kieu teh lain si Astrajingga, dosa silaing keneh nu ngawut-ngawut teh. Tuh, nu matak tea oge.

It's a sign. Each of us must look within. Remember that disaster and success have to do with charity and good deeds. What has happened is not Astrajingga's fault—it's yours. That's the truth.

These reinscriptions of the past occupied wayang golek after Suharto's fall. In 1998, Suharto's vice president and crony B. J. Habibie was installed as president and, although the leadership of the country was still in the hands of ex-president Suharto's political group Golkar, new political parties were allowed to form and an election would be held to choose the first democratically elected president. Most people had little understanding of the term *Reformasi,* as the majority of Indonesians had never lived under a different political regime, much less thought about what it might mean for someone else to be in power.[7] What would it mean for the nation to have new leadership? What kinds of reforms could the government possibly initiate? What effect would political and economic reforms have on their everyday lives? How might the nation be imagined differently from the previous thirty-two years?

Asep Sunandar picked up on this confusion of meanings and warned his audiences to be careful about new government plans (isms) circulating among "political clowns" (*badut politik*) striving to take power during times of upheaval and crisis. His message had changed from "put your faith in the leaders" (as discussed in chapter 4) to "put your faith in yourselves!":

Sajumlah dulur-dulur kula nu laleutik. Dina lebah dieu kade ulah kaismeuan ku pihak katilu. . . . Bisi dijieun kasempetan ku pihak katilu kalayan cing waspada bakal datang badut-badut politik ku ayana aya kieu teh. Nya eta bisi dijieun kasempetan ku pihak katilu deui ongkoh nya eta pahlawan kabeurangan. Heueuh awas sing ati-ati. Moal aya realisasina perjuangan urang lamun kahadang ku jalma-jalma atawa ku badut-badut politik. Anu make kedok Reformasi, mun ceuk basa kiwari mah.

Listen up, my friends. Be careful not to fall prey to the isms that these third parties are currently espousing. . . . This is a chance for third parties, so watch out for those political clowns out there. They are just opportunists, merely "heroes after the battle has already been fought." Just be careful. We'll never fulfill our struggle as long as these obstacles are put up by political clowns. They are wearing the mask of Reformasi, as the saying goes.

Under Habibie, most people felt that little had changed. The economy continued to suffer under his leadership and, after about a year, it appeared

that Habibie's short term as president would soon be over. Habibie introduced basic democratic changes and enjoyed the support of several Muslim groups, but he was criticized for a banking corruption scandal linked to his inner circle. Indonesia's persistent and worsening economic woes continued. The Golkar regime officially ended after Habibie failed to win the presidential election. Abdurrahman Wahid, popularly known as Gus Dur, came to power in October 1999. Abdurrahman's Islamic party, the PKB (Partai Kebangkitan Bangsa, National Awakening Party), received just 12 percent of the vote in the June 7 general elections, as compared with Megawati Soekarnoputri's PDI-P (Partai Demokrasi Indonesia Perjuangan, Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle), which gained a third of the vote. However, in a parliamentary vote for the presidency, Abdurrahman received support from the Muslim right, the military, and Suharto's Golkar party. He prevailed over Megawati, who was later installed as vice president.

Gus Dur, head of Indonesia's largest Muslim group, the NU (Nahdlatul Ulama), was a Muslim cleric whose clever religious interpretations but unpredictable political views sparked controversy within the mass media and within wayang golek. Dalang Ade Kosasih felt that the controversies surrounding Gus Dur enlivened wayang golek. Wayang golek was based on narrating struggles that emerged from contrasting ideological positions. Ade Kosasih explained that Gus Dur's regime inspired people to take opposing political positions that could be easily dramatized in wayang golek. Gus Dur was criticized for being too theoretical and for not spending enough time dealing with local issues. The perception among Sundanese was that he spent too much time traveling abroad with a huge entourage of family and advisors. The economy worsened and loans from the IMF and the World Bank placed Indonesia in a weak position on the international political and economic stage.

People's distrust of political leadership represented an opportunity for dalang to clarify economic issues. For example, Asep Sunandar explained the conflicts at the heart of economic globalization by putting them together for his nonelite audiences. Of course, they could read the newspaper and listen to the radio, but Asep Sunandar believed they were too busy just trying to survive to reflect on the connections between global politics and their daily lives. In the lakon "Bangbang Wira Manik" (The hero Wira

Manik) Asep Sunandar showed that economic and political relationships between Indonesia and other countries were connected to political problems within the country. Using the character Cepot, he explained that the decline of investor confidence was directly related to internal struggles over power. The following passage also takes a long critical look at the past leadership of the country:

CEPOT: Dina waktos ayeuna teh sun nu hayang merdeka mah, nu parasea mah antara penduduk, anu tawuran, enya nu ngomongkeun we pamingpin, nu ngagogoreng wae pamarentahan. Di pamarentahanana oge geus saling omongkeun, geus saling cokelan kasalahan. Ah ayeuna mah. Di mata luar negri mah parantos awon di negara urang teh sun, nagara Astina teh sun. Enya. Atuh duit Astina morosot terhadap dolar. Enya.

BANGBANG WIRA MANIK (BWM): Kajadian di nagara Astina teh kitu?

CEPOT: Sumuhun. Nuju harengheng ayeuna teh sun. Nuju komplikasi lamun dina panyakit tea mah. Enya.

BWM: Saha rajana?

CEPOT: Dastarata kulan. Parantos opat raja ayeuna teh ti nagara Astina teh ti kawit Prabu Santanu Dewa kapungkur, teras ku Abiasa, ti Abiasa teras ka Pandu. Ayeuna Dastarata. Ari Santanu Dewa mah kapungkur gelarna teh nya eta Negarawan; teras nu kadua Abiasa eta mah Hartawan; teras anu katiluna Pandu Dewanata Ilmuan. Tah ayeuna mah Wisatawan sun!

CEPOT: Nowadays there are those who are struggling for freedom, fighting among neighbors and within classrooms, cursing the government. Within the government there are those who sully each other's name, insulting each other and looking for each other's weaknesses. From the perspective of other countries, we are failing, this country of Astina.[8] Our currency has sunk to record lows in relation to the U.S. dollar.

BWM: Is Astina really in such bad shape?

CEPOT: Yes. It's a desperate situation. It's getting to be like an illness with many complications.

BWM: Who is now king?

CEPOT: Dastarata. There have been four kings to rule Astina, beginning with Santanu Dewa, followed by Abiasa, Pandu, and now Dastarata. Santanu Dewa [Sukarno] was a statesman; the second, Abiasa [Suharto], pursued wealth and possessions; the third [Habibie] was a scientist; and now we have a tourist [Gus Dur]!

Another way that dalang "actualized" or "topicalized" political issues was by telling stories that reflected actual figures and events. Although dalang maintain that all lakon can be made topical to the times, according to how they are shaped in performance, some lakon, however, are naturally more topical than others. Gus Dur was impeached in July 2001 on charges that he had misused government funds. He was followed by Megawati Soekarnoputri, the daughter of Indonesia's first president, Sukarno, whose presidency gave rise to a proliferation of performances that featured female heroes. The lakon "Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu" (Arimbi becomes queen) could not be more transparent (*transparan*), in that no one could possibly miss the links between wayang characters and political figures. I have included an entire synopsis of the tale, based on an analysis of the cassette recording, that highlights specific references to actual figures, places, and events (in brackets).

Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu

Scene 1

In the hermitage of Saptarengga, the priest Abiasa receives his grandsons, Bima and Arjuna, as well as Semar. Abiasa asks about the battle of Bale Sigala-gala, where the Pandawa were attacked by the Kurawa. The Pandawa managed to escape through an underground tunnel stretching to the forest of Pringgandani. Bima reports on his battle with Arimba [Suharto], who was killed. Bima then married Arimba's younger sister Arimbi [Megawati] in Banyu Mudal, overseen by the priest Kesarpa. Because of the Bale Sigala-gala incident, Bima asks to avenge the Pandawa by wiping out the Kurawa.

Bima becomes impatient. Abiasa advises Bima to be careful. After all, the Kurawa are still family. Abiasa tells him that power, rank, and wealth do not have value in the eyes of God.

Aria Purbakesa from the Kingdom of Pringgandani [Indonesia] arrives. Purbakesa reports that Arimbi is pregnant. Pringgandani is in a state of war. Within the family, separate parties have formed under the leadership of the eight children: Arimba, Arimbi, Purbakesa, Brajadenta, Brajamusti, Brajalamatan, Brajawikalpa, and Kalabendana. There was an election and Arimbi

received the most votes. But when the time arrived for negotiations, the others formed a coalition and voted to install Brajamusti as king [Gus Dur].

The people are becoming unruly because the country is out of control. There are many provocations. People are taking different positions. Among ethnic groups, and even within villages, people are fighting and dying. Further, Arimba's bearded son, Rimbana [Suharto's son Tommy], has fled the country [the beard is a reference to Tommy, who was seen sporting a beard in wanted posters circulating around Jakarta]. There is talk that Brajamusti is supporting Rimbana [a reference to a supposed meeting between Gus Dur and Tommy in a hotel where Gus Dur reportedly told Tommy to leave the country and even gave him money]. Further, Brajamusti has been sullying Arimbi's name [a reference to Gus Dur sullying Megawati's name in public].

Cepot comments that the people have been contaminated and intimidated by these struggles over power.

News arrives that Rimbana has planted a bomb that results in many deaths [a reference to Tommy, who was a suspect in a bombing that killed a judge presiding over his trial for larceny]. The funds for such terror are the results of his father's corruption. It is now revealed that Arimba's wealth is widespread. Rimbana wants to distance himself from Pringgandani, namely to move to Palebur Gangsa to mount an attack on Pringgandani. [Palebur Gangsa is a base of terrorism; the reference is to Tommy Suharto's supposed arms connections with members of Gerakan Aceh Merdeka, the Free Aceh Movement.]

Bima is furious that he has been slandered by Brajamusti in the matter of Arimba's death.

According to Purbakesa, Rimbana has been supplied with weapons by the Kurawa.

Arjuna feels that the Kurawa have become weak and are unable to lead the country of Astina.

Purbakesa asks for advice from Abiasa, the leader of Astina, to find the best way to resolve the problems of Pringgandani.

Abiasa suggests that in order to have a safe country, in which people are not fighting, a god from Heaven must come down to earth to install Arimbi as the leader. There is no other way.

Purbakesa agrees but Brajamusti believes that no one can defeat him. He is prepared to fight. He will not be removed from the palace. He is so proud to be there, he even wears shorts. [Gus Dur liked to wear shorts in the presidential palace.]

Abiasa tells Arimbi not to worry. When Arimbi's baby is born, it will defeat the coalition.

Finally, Bima is ordered to go to Heaven to meet the High God of the Universe and to formally request that a god install Arimbi as leader. Bima orders Arjuna to restrain the Kurawa, who are sending Arimba weapons. Semar, Cepot, and Dawala go along.

Scene 2

Bima arrives at the gate of Heaven. There are two giants guarding the gate, Balai Upata and Upata Balai. Before Bima is allowed to enter Heaven, he is asked many questions: What is the relationship between human beings and God? Between humans and other humans? Between humans and nature? Bima answers all the questions correctly. Suddenly the gate of Heaven opens. Bima enters.

The gods agree that Arimbi should be installed as leader. Narada and several other gods descend to earth.

Scene 3

The Kurawa are planning to send weapons to Rimbana in Palebur Gangsa, a region near Pringgandani. Rimbana meets the Kurawa.

Scene 4

Arjuna, Semar, Cepot, and Dawala arrive in a border town where the weapons will be sent. Arjuna is able to stop the progress of the Kurawa. Cepot defeats various giants. Arjuna is thrown by the demons. He gets ready to shoot an arrow. Cepot and Dawala talk about the strength of Arjuna's arrows. An ogre is hit by one of his arrows. Jokes follow.

Scene 5

[This scene takes place at the palace of Palebur Gangsa.]

Rimbana receives a report from his ogres that many of his men have

died. The Kurawa have retreated and gone home to Astina as a result of Arjuna's actions.

Arjuna fights with Rimbana. Arjuna is thrown by Rimbana but is saved by Purbakesa. Arjuna asks for Semar's help. Semar tells him to pull one of Semar's hairs, but Arjuna is too embarrassed. Purbakesa does the job and gives it to Arjuna to chew. He goes back to the battlefield to fight Rimbana.

Purbakesa hugs Rimbana because he is her nephew. Cepot protests her actions. He argues that although Rimbana is a member of her family, the laws must be upheld. They go to Pringgandani.

Scene 6

In Pringgandani the gods are gathered: Narada, Bayu, Indra, and the people. Arimbi and Bima welcome the arrival of Arjuna, Semar, Purbakesa, Cepot, and Dawala.

Narada and the gods install Arimbi as leader. Narada confirms that she is entitled. Although Brajamusti still lives in the palace, he will leave later, after his shame has worn off.

The practice of using wayang characters to represent political figures was nothing new; the example shows how lakon could be shaped around real people, places, and events. It was Cepot's monologue near the end of the cassette that introduced the main message:

CEPOT: Heueuh da ari nagarana mah geus kumplit. Nagarana mah geus subur. Tanah geus nyampak. Da teu kudu gugulawat unjak-anjuk ka luar nagara unjam-injeum. Lamun bener-bener bisa ngalolana. Da ieu mah bangsat wungkul meureun jelemana. Heueuh. Aing apruk-aprukan ka luar nagara memang di luar nagara ge bangsat wungkul ngan nu ngabangsatna ka luar nagara ngajajah tea keur kasajahteran ra'yatna.

CEPOT: If the country has everything to offer. If the country is fertile and the land is tilled, we don't need to borrow money from other countries, as long as we can figure out how to run things on our own. They're all thieves anyway. I've traveled abroad and there are lots of thieves in other countries. But they steal from others, and colonize others, for the sake of their own people. But in Pringgandani [Indonesia] we steal from our own

Tapi di nagara Pringgandani mah ngabangsat teh ka rayat sorangan nepi ka rayat teh dianggap jajahan. Tah ieu ruksakna teh euy!

people and turn them into the colonized! This is the trouble!

In this example, Cepot mounts a critique of globalization—the rapidly increasing flow of goods, services, labor, technology, and capital throughout the world—as a form of neocolonialism. During Suharto's last year in power, he had requested aid from international banks to stem the fall of the rupiah during the economic crisis of 1997–98. Cepot's critique of globalization operates in at least two ways. First, Indonesia's large debt was perceived as another example of the country's dependence on foreign capital that would ultimately limit its ability to become self-sufficient. Cepot questions the need for economic aid in a country that seems rich in resources.[9] The problems facing the country are internal and can be solved internally, if only the administration can be improved. Second, when these aid packages arrived, they tended to benefit only the very wealthy, particularly Suharto's family and cronies. As Cepot remarks, such economic aid leads to another form of neocolonialism, in which Indonesia's leaders use foreign aid to line their own pockets rather than giving it to the people it was intended for. In order for the people to pay off the debt, a debt they did not authorize, they will have to suffer. In both scenarios, globalization seems to exacerbate rather than improve the desperate conditions of ordinary Indonesians.

Cassette Production after 1998

The sound of wayang golek on cassette recording changed in 1998. "Rahwana Pejah" (Rahwana dies a slow death) was the first commercial cassette release ever to be recorded in front of a live audience. For the first time, listeners could hear the response of audiences, who expressed their pleasure with jokes and social critique through laughter, catcalls, and applause. VCD recordings went even further, featuring long uncensored, unedited performances in front of live audiences.

Unlike studio recordings of wayang golek produced during the New Order, the live cassettes and VCDs recorded and released after the fall of Suharto introduced a heightened sense of temporality and place.[10] On these recordings, Asep Sunandar geared his performance to the audience at the performance rather than the producers in the studio or an imagined audience (see chapter 6). Consumers could hear and watch him addressing a particular audience and they could imagine themselves being at the site of performance. Listeners respond not only to what is being said by the dalang but also to the sense of immediacy that people at the performance are feeling as the dalang performs. These recordings not only encompass the content of wayang golek (story, music, jokes) but emphasize the context of performance as well. In contrast to the immutable universal messages enshrined on studio recordings of the New Order, these cassettes stress the particular social conditions of Sundanese during a specific moment in history.

This emphasis on performance, temporality, and place is supported by the inclusion of "inserts," texts written on the inside of the cassette covers. The vast majority of recordings made in the New Order included a picture of the dalang on the cover, and the name of the dalang, troupe, and singer(s) printed on the inside. Occasionally, the inside covers might also include a synopsis (*sinopsis*) that outlined the main characters and events of the story. After the fall of Suharto, all cassettes produced by Dian Records began to include inserts with extensive information about the conditions of the recording itself. For example, in addition to the names of the dalang, troupe, female singer, and male singer, the cassette "Rahwana Pejah" (1998–99) includes the name of the sound engineer, recording engineer, assistant recording engineer, producer, assistant to the director, and editor of the recording. The inclusion of this information indicates the greater role these individuals played, but, unlike previous commercial recordings of wayang golek, it also links the recording itself to a specific place and time.

Unlike synopses included on earlier recordings, synopses in this period did not focus on the plot, but rather, the connection between the lakon, the performer, and the actual historical circumstances of performance. These later synopses explained the meaning or message that the tale was meant to convey. For example, in the synopsis for the lakon "Bambang Wira Manik," the message is about finding a leader who will bring the people out

of their suffering. The specific dalang's performance style and specialization are promoted in the following excerpt:

> While the voices of the common people have already become increasingly hoarse from trying to express their screams of suffering, Asep Sunandar Sunarya, through the medium of wayang golek packaged in this album, together with his own brand of comedy, consistently gives voice to the integrity and will of the common people. Bambang Wira Manik, in the form of a knight, is a figure we long for in the future.

On the cassette cover of another recording, entitled "Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu," the insert includes the city, month, and year of production (Bandung, December 2001). Wayang golek is defined as follows:

> Wayang golek is a reflection of human life *in historical context*. Therefore, in the development of wayang golek both its stories and the supporting elements of production including setting, characterization, music, dramaturgy, etc., must always be topical. In order to fulfill the demand to reflect life that is always changing [wayang must] change in relation to the changing times.
>
> What is illustrated in the wayang golek tale "Arimbi Ngadeg Ratu" is a reflection of the Indonesian people, especially the Sundanese people, as they welcome a new era of leadership, in which the role of women is taken seriously and their position is equivalent to that of men. (emphasis in original)

This quote brings me back to the debate about reflection and wayang language expressed by Tjetjep Supriadi and Asep Sunandar. In both cases, wayang golek is defined as a kind of reflection. For Tjetjep Supriadi, wayang golek was a reflection of the abstract ideals of good and evil that were embodied in, for example, a satria (knight) and used to demonstrate the qualities of a moral life. In Asep Sunandar's case, the dalang used puppets, language, and music to dramatize actual circumstances that were immediately linked to time and place. Tjetjep Supriadi urged dalang to leave out the names of specific individuals, problems, and scandals, whereas Asep Sunandar was compelled to leave them in. It was no longer good enough for dalang to use the allusive and metaphorical language of wayang golek.

Audiences desired the words, names, and events "actualized" in wayang golek stories, and that is exactly what Asep Sunandar gave them.

Asep Sunandar's populist message—the sovereignty of the people should be in the hands of the people, not in a leader—resonated loudly in the theater of wayang golek. While other superstar dalang hesitated to shift their allegiances away from Golkar, Asep Sunandar embraced his new status as politically neutral (*netral*). This new political neutrality, or nonalignment with Suharto and his Golkar regime, reflected the loosening grip of control that characterized the New Order regime. His neutrality reflected his desire to reach popular audiences, as well as the fact that he was now vying for the attention and sponsorship of contending political parties. His 1999 statement, "I don't support anyone, but I support everyone," resonated with Dalang Otong Rasta's statement that "wayang is not the property of one, but the property of all" (pers. comm., April 21, 1995).

The discourse about wayang language and direct speech embodied the shift between the New Order style of wayang golek and the post-Suharto model. This shift, turning on matters of language, was epitomized by the conservative position of Tjetjep Supriadi and the liberal stance of Asep Sunandar. Asep Sunandar argued against the centrality of the Panca S (Five S's) and favored direct language that was unambiguous and clear. He developed innovative recording and marketing strategies. Asep Sunandar's performances brought the nation closer to people rather than keeping them at arm's length. It was his ability to narrate conflicting ideologies of the nation, by debating problems openly and "transparently," that elevated him above other dalang of the post-Suharto era.

Chapter 9

THE POLITICS OF PERFORMANCE

THE POSTER FOR the 1999 Indonesian Wayang Festival (Pekan Wayang Indonesia '99) depicts a wayang king casting a watchful eye on a violent uprising, perhaps one that led to the overthrow of ex-president Suharto in May 1998 (fig. 9.1). The scene behind him shows a crowd of people clashing with police, students overturning a burning car, and one student standing on top of the car waving a flag victoriously. In this glossy advertisement for a weeklong festival of wayang events, the contrast between the wayang figure and the people in the photograph is striking. The wayang character's expression is extremely clear and focused, with finely differentiated shades of lighting and color. He projects great concern but also a sense of patriarchal disdain for his subjects below. Except for the student standing on top of the car, the people's faces are hidden, and the crowd scene appears blurry; what appears to be police bludgeoning people with clubs cannot even be clearly discerned. The wayang actor's face and elaborate headdress are painted in color, but the scene in the background is muted by a green-and-black treatment that gives it a faded antique quality. The juxtaposition seems to invert fiction and reality, so that the world of wayang appears real and present and the arena of human political struggle in the background appears distant and historical. The king is positioned in such a way as to suggest that wayang will somehow save the people and order will be restored.

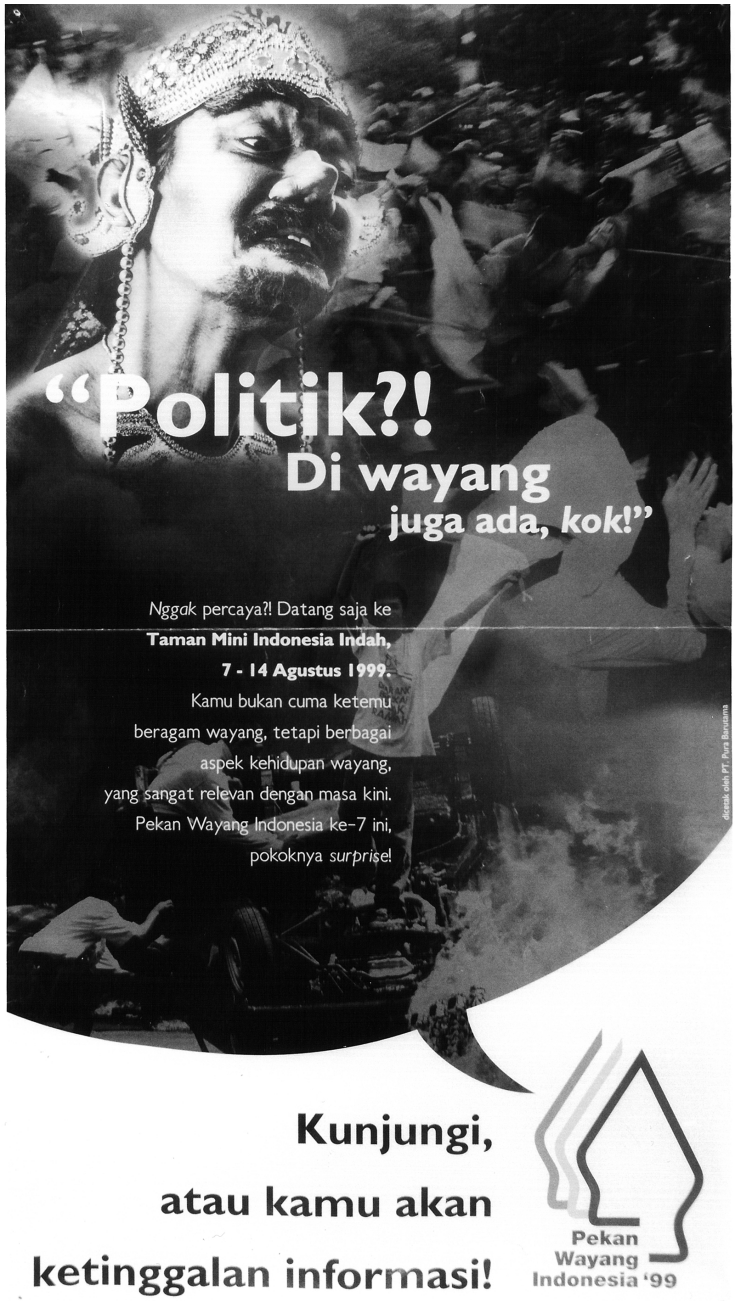


FIG. 9.1. Poster for Pekan Wayang Indonesia '99

The caption reads, "'Politics?! They exist in wayang too—really!'" The subtitle reads, "You don't believe it? Then come to Beautiful Miniature Indonesia, August 7–14, 1999. You will not only encounter various styles of wayang, but also various aspects in the life of wayang, that are relevant to today's times. The Seventh Indonesian Wayang Festival will be full of surprises!" Underneath the photograph (next to the festival's logo), the text reads, "Stop by, or you will miss out on some [important] information!" The poster targets a young audience by using Jakarta-based colloquial language like *kok* and *nggak,* trendy English words like *surprise,* and anglicized words like the future-oriented, high-tech *informasi* (not the past-oriented New Order term *penerangan* [propaganda]).

The poster raises important questions about the discourse and representation of wayang, the relationship between wayang and politics, and the representation of violence that had taken place not too far from the Beautiful Miniature Indonesia (Taman Mini Indonesia Indah) complex in May 1998.[1] Perhaps this image was simply a means for the festival committee to advertise an event that might have gone unnoticed among a populace preoccupied with more pressing economic and political problems. The festival promises to dispel any ideas that wayang is outdated. Rather, wayang is "relevant," or is going to be made relevant by the event—but in what ways?[2] Does the portrayal of struggle and violence—in dark, muted tones—suggest their pastness and irrelevance? Or is it a way of keeping alive the images of the previous year's overthrow of ex-president Suharto? Who was the dalang manipulating the characters in this political drama? Will the festival atmosphere, taking place in the theme park environment of Taman Mini, deflect attention away from political battles tearing apart the country? Or is the "surprise" offered by festival organizers really a new vision of wayang, something more "relevant," "alive," and "political" than people have ever experienced? What kinds of information will people miss out on by *not* attending? Will it be the kind of government information that had infiltrated wayang from the Department of Information (Deppen), the Department of Education and Culture (Depdikbud), and the state television and radio networks (TVRI and RRI, respectively) or the kind of information (gossip) that passed along the streets of Jakarta during the uprising of May 1998?

The Seventh Pekan Wayang Indonesia, organized by Pepadi, and sponsored by Depdikbud and numerous private businesses, took place at the new Pepadi pavilion, headquartered at Taman Mini. I attended the opening ceremony, seminars and roundtable discussions, an exhibition of wayang puppets and paintings, and numerous performances by highly talented Indonesian and non-Indonesian performers. The daytime activities were largely ceremonial, somewhat reminiscent of the Sixth Pekan Wayang Indonesia, which I had attended in 1992. Wayang-related arts and crafts (pens, hats, napkins) and puppets were sold outside the exhibition/performance area. Schoolchildren were bused in for performances during the day. Foreign participants were treated like a diplomatic corps: we were shuttled to the presidential palace to meet then-president Habibie, to have our pictures taken while we shook his hand, to listen to speeches, and to enjoy a reception with cakes and fruit juice. The first six volumes of the *Ensiklopedi Wayang Indonesia* (Encyclopedia of Indonesian wayang) had recently been completed and they were unveiled and sold. Altogether, it was an extraordinarily well-planned event that, contrary to the promises of the poster, offered very little information and very few surprises. In seminar meetings, wayang was defined as the most exalted of all the art forms and the most distilled form of Javanese culture. In its correct form, it upheld artistic standards (pakem) that emanated from the courts of nineteenth-century central Java. There was a lot of talk about heroes, stories, and philosophy but little talk about what went on in actual performances. Wayang revealed an ideal hierarchy, a model for social order, with aristocratic leaders at the top and commoners at the bottom. Wayang presented a model of the ideal state, where order was always restored.

At night, after the officials had gone home and the encyclopedias had been put away, the field outside the pavilion was transformed into a carnival, a night market, a rendezvous. Spectators, mostly men, wandered in from the surrounding area and set up for the night. They gambled, smoked, and drank. During performances by superstar dalang, the crowd was packed in so tightly that it was hard to break through to see the puppets and the performers, but the booming loudspeakers were loud enough for everyone to hear the songs of the female singers and long monologues of the comic characters. Spectators became participants as their

desires and aspirations were propelled by the dalang onto the stage. Long sections of songs, comedy, and battles dominated the performance. People reflected on references in the story lines to clashes between generations, between husbands and wives, between police and students. And they worried about the fictional land of Pringgandani, a legendary country whose very foundation was being threatened, as if its struggles were those that animated their own lives. This wayang, the wayang in performance, was about them.

Like the social texts analyzed in this book, the festival discourse and performances can help to tease out the multivalent nature of wayang. How did the meaning and value of wayang change when it moved from the pavilion hall to the open field? Why did some people see wayang as a national artistic treasure while others saw it as local popular entertainment? How is it possible to deal with such different interpretations of the same thing? Perhaps the nature of wayang encourages such competing interpretations, as A. L. Becker stated in a seminal article long ago (1979). But what made it possible for certain meanings to exist more forcefully than others during certain historical junctures? What became acceptable, and unacceptable, ways to construct the meaning of wayang golek within the discursive formation of the New Order and the following three years of Reformasi? Where did these meanings come from, how did they acquire authority, and what kinds of interests did they represent?

Throughout this book, I have argued that the production of meaning in wayang golek—through language, discourse, and music—is intersected by social struggles over power and authority. *Power Plays* forces us to reconcile the seemingly contradictory themes and tensions (discussed in the introduction) of popular entertainment (often understood as "only" escape and hence not to be taken seriously) and state politics (often understood as a privileged form of power and hence to be taken very seriously). Although wayang golek is a small part of a larger social process, these microsocial struggles can help us understand what is at stake in cultural practice. These struggles clarify social processes of constructing identity (especially regional and subregional), citizenship (in New Order and post–New Order Indonesia), and community (village, neighborhood, and family) in a particular time and place.

The state attempts to instrumentalize wayang golek in order to create a sense of shared ideas about what it means to belong to the nation. In order for people to sacrifice their time, energy, resources, and ultimately their lives, they will need to believe in the idea of a national community, an idea that, in some cases, lays claim to their allegiance above and beyond any other. Although wayang as an instrument for state programs and identification had existed earlier, efforts to nationalize culture took on a particular shape during the New Order. Nationalism manifested itself in wayang golek as a philosophical idea (Pancasila), an economic plan (development), and a political allegiance (to Golkar and the Suharto regime). Performance became a framework from which to tell stories about the kind of community the nation could be. Wayang golek was an ideal site for the state to organize because it had built up tremendous cultural capital among Sundanese audiences. Sundanese notions of self were conditioned or "learned" by watching and listening to wayang golek. Alliances between the state and the people were forged in wayang golek settings as a way to legitimize the power of the state.

Superstar dalang were cultivated as representatives or officers of the New Order state, which hired them to perform for huge sums of money to transmit government messages to their spectators about how to behave as proper citizens. The processes of valorizing individual performers beyond the traditional modes that created regional "stars" were viewed in relation to commercial, cultural, and official institutions of the New Order. Like other entertainment forms, wayang golek was shaped by the influx of capital, new communications technology, and new patronage networks during the New Order. Mass media were seen to be a major factor in promoting the careers of certain individuals, while submerging or excluding others. Superstar dalang took advantage of opportunities made available through mass media in order to communicate with far greater numbers of spectators. The privileges that accrued to superstars through mass media increased their public exposure and enabled them to be heard and seen far more than other dalang. In conjunction with increased exposure through mass media, superstar dalang developed innovative practices in order to satisfy their fans' desire for novelty and to maintain their position as trendsetters in the field of wayang. Multilaras gamelan exemplifies the spectacular

nature of these innovations and relates them to an exclusionary system of artistic productive relations.

My focus on four superstar dalang demonstrates a center-periphery model in which the practices of padalangan are dominated by those dalang who have enhanced access to media apparatuses and official institutions of culture. Because of the tremendous resources necessary to participate in padalangan, the superstar system consolidates a centralized system that is difficult, if not impossible, for those on the periphery to penetrate. Family networks have further consolidated opportunities to a small number of performers. But this center-periphery model raises further questions that were not answered in this book. What about those dalang who do not occupy positions of power in the sphere of padalangan? What kinds of representations are foregrounded in performances by local practitioners, who perform perhaps only a few times a year, and regional stars, who perform a few times a month? In what ways have dalang in areas far from the centers of mass mediation challenged the hegemony of Bandung as the center of Sundanese cultural representation? What has happened to "peripheral" styles, particularly after the rise of mass media in the seventies? These questions require further fieldwork in areas that were outside the scope of this study.

Despite the tremendous pressure to conform to state interests, wayang golek has maintained a level of relative autonomy. Analysis of cultural reception and the realm of the popular was approached here, not through a process of interviewing individual spectators of wayang golek but, rather, through critical analysis of the competing interests that motivate the involvement of multiple social actors in cultural production. For example, the state might regulate the production of meaning in wayang golek through contests and scholarly literature that construct forms of padalangan as proper and correct, while commercial producers might construct the image of superstar dalang through advertising, promotional articles, and reviews in popular magazines. Yet, audiences do not passively accept a dalang's exalted status, just because he is valorized in the media. Nor do "correct" versions of padalangan always resonate well with spectators. In fact, the top performers are the ones who most frequently transgress the rules established by official bodies. The reason is that, for dalang, the most important

objective is to communicate with spectators even if it means transgressing idealized state-generated performance models. In this way, audiences become active and vital participants in this process of symbolic or meaning production, in that they are the consumers and spectators who ultimately define what is acceptable, valuable, and exciting. Spectators are by no means passive receptacles to be filled according to the intentions of the state, the media, and the market. Instead, people are resistant, dissenting, or collaborating parties that also determine what, in culture, could be interpreted as that which is meaningful, valuable, and held in common by people as Sundanese or Indonesian.

If people and audiences act as key authorities that actively control the cultural text by inscribing what is meaningful and appealing with their own desires and aspirations, a key question for official and commercial authorities as well as researchers of culture is, What do the people want? Sundanese concepts of taste, perceptions of self, and notions of regional and national identity were not addressed by asking questions about "authentic" Sundanese or Indonesian identity and the ways in which such cultural authenticity might govern the private thoughts and emotions of informants. Instead, I have utilized a more "public" approach to these questions, wherein questions of regional and national identity are addressed precisely as performers and cultural officials address themselves, through wayang golek, to the people. Whatever subjective or private thoughts and emotions individuals hold about these issues become extremely public matters when official and market interests become involved in their formation, inscription, and positionality with respect to the competition for cultural authority and social control. Those vying to control and influence people's desires and aspirations from above do not address themselves to each individual as subjective or psychological, idiosyncratic entities. The state addresses itself not to empirical, socially contingent individuals but to a populace with historically definable interests, conflicts, constraints, and possibilities. Conceptions of audience reception are based on analyzing social constructions of the people from above, wherein alternative modes of sociality are suppressed, neutralized, or assimilated by state and market interventions. I discussed such social constructions of the people through analysis of cultural policy and canons of performance, as well as through recordings and interpreta-

tions of actual performances (chapter 2). Examples of performance dramatize the tensions that arise as social actors vie for cultural authority in the creation of social meaning and value (chapter 4).

The need for narratives to persuade people to invest their time, energy, and resources in the idea of a national community has become even more critical after the fall of Suharto. In 1999, after twenty-four years of bloody conflict under Indonesian rule, the people of East Timor finally won their independence. Yet Indonesia continues to rely on brute military force to enforce the notion of a national community in several regions. The Free Aceh Movement has been fighting a separatist battle against Indonesia since 1974, and, at this writing, the two sides do not appear to be any closer to resolving a war that has already claimed thousands of lives. After Suharto's fall, in 1998, problems between the military and the Papuan population escalated, and calls for independence were ignited. These battles date back to 1961, even before the advent of the New Order. Disintegration is further threatened by ethnic and religious strife between Muslim and Christian communities in Maluku, and among Dayak, Malay, and Javanese groups in West Kalimantan.

Strong legitimizing narratives, such as those described in this book, will no doubt continue to be produced by the state to persuade people to participate in the imagined community of the Indonesian nation. However, while national cultural and educational institutions exert pressure on dalang to assimilate into wayang golek the objectives and programs of the Indonesian state, dalang will continue to respond to Sundanese audiences, whose own interests have often conflicted with those of the central government and new media apparatuses. In this highly charged environment, the dalang takes the stage, removes the mountain-shaped kayon, and begins narrating a tale in which multiple voices and conflicting interests converge. As the drama unfolds, wayang golek remains a communicative event, a place to gather, and a rendezvous where new dialogues about identity, citizenship, and community become possible.

Appendix A

CD-ROM CONTENTS

THE ACCOMPANYING CD-ROM comprises two parts. "Musical Examples" is a folder of seven MP3 audio recordings that correspond to the examples transcribed in chapter 5. "Wayang Golek" is a multimedia presentation that allows the user to interact with text, graphics, audio, and video in a self-paced educational environment.

Musical Examples

Unless otherwise noted, audio recordings of musical examples were made using a Sony TC-D5M and two AKG 1000 microphones. The contents are listed below by figure number, piece title, performers, and recording conditions.

1. Figure 5.6. Kakawen "Sri Tinon," laras sorog salendro, excerpt, performed by Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya and Giri Harja III. Recorded by the author at a performance in Dayeuh Kolot, Bandung, West Java (May 11–12, 1994).
2. Figure 5.14. "Nyandra," laras sorog pelog degung, performed by Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya and Giri Harja III. Recorded by the author at a performance in Dayeuh Kolot, Bandung, West Java (May 11–12, 1994).

3. Figure 5.15. Kakawen "Gedong Duwur," laras salendro, performed by Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya and Giri Harja III, from commercial cassette *Palagan di Maliawan*. Dian Records (early 1980s?). Used by permission.
4. Figure 5.17. Kakawen "Gedong Duwur," laras mataram, performed by Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya and Giri Harja III. Recorded by the author at a performance in Dayeuh Kolot, Bandung, West Java (May 11–12, 1994).
5. Figure 5.18. "Sampak," laras pelog jawar, excerpt, performed by Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya and Giri Harja III. Recorded by the author at a performance in Dayeuh Kolot, Bandung, West Java (May 11–12, 1994).
6. Figure 5.20. Lagu kawih "Pras-Pris," laras pelog degung, excerpt, performed by Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya and Giri Harja III. Recorded by the author at a performance in Dayeuh Kolot, Bandung, West Java (May 11–12, 1994).
7. Figure 5.22. "Kajawen," laras sorog pelog jawar, excerpt, performed by Dalang Asep Sunandar Sunarya and Giri Harja III. Recorded by the author at a performance in Dayeuh Kolot, Bandung, West Java (May 11–12, 1994).

Wayang Golek

The interactive study of wayang golek on CD-ROM illuminates the multifaceted nature of wayang golek performance. The CD-ROM presentation conveys textual and visual information about the performers, repertoire of plots, iconography and construction of the puppets, accompanying music, and social context of wayang golek. Interviews with puppeteers and musicians (translated into English) animate various facets of the performers' lives. Links between audio, video, and text examples from actual performances help to explain the relationships between the performance event and the corresponding culture and society. The CD-ROM also includes a glossary.

The accompanying CD-ROM corresponds to sections of text in chapter 1 of *Power Plays,* but it may be used in conjunction with other chapters, or on its own.

Unless otherwise noted, the data for the CD-ROM are my own original materials, gathered during seven field research trips to West Java, 1984 to 2001. Video recordings were made using a Sony Hi8 video camcorder. Additional videotape materials were recorded in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in 2002 using a Sony digital video camcorder.

The CD-ROM may be used on Windows or Macintosh computers. QuickTime is necessary for viewing the CD-ROM. QuickTime may be downloaded from the following website: http://www.apple.com/quicktime.

Minimum system requirements for Windows users are Windows 98 or higher; 256-color display at 800 x 600; Sound Blaster or compatible sound card; and a CD-ROM drive. Minimum system requirements for Macintosh users are OS 8.1 or higher; 256-color display at 800 x 600; and a CD-ROM drive. To access the CD-ROM using a Macintosh computer with the "classic" Mac OS (Mac OS8 and Mac OS9), click on the icon "wayang_golek.classic." To access the CD-ROM using a Macintosh computer with Mac OSX, click on the icon "wayang_golek.osx." To access the CD-ROM using a PC computer, click on the icon "wayang_golek.exe."

Appendix B

BIOGRAPHIES OF FOUR DALANG

R. H. Tjetjep Supriadi

R. H. (Raden Haji) Tjetjep Supriadi was born in 1931 in the village of Poponcol in Karawang, a rustic town located between Jakarta and Bandung, two of the largest and most cosmopolitan cities in Indonesia. Although Tjetjep Supriadi played Sundanese musical instruments as a youth, his family was not involved in the arts (his parents were farmers). From 1950 to 1955 he studied at a teacher-training college in Karawang, which led to his first career, as an elementary school teacher. As a student, and during his first job as a teacher in Purwakarta, he performed sandiwara, a popular, urban stage play in which costumed actors dramatize stories through speech, song, and dance. But even after becoming principal of an elementary school in Karawang he was unable to support his family. He studied wayang golek's history, repertoire, and practice by reading books in his spare time. His models were Cakra Hudaya and Barnas Somantri, two Jakarta-based dalang who were making a very good living as professional performers in the early sixties. He began learning to perform wayang golek in 1964 and by 1967 he had mastered the fundamentals of the art and decided to change careers. The life of a dalang was exciting to him and was potentially more lucrative than a career in education. In 1968 he crafted a lively style of wayang golek and began traveling around West Java with his troupe, Panca Komara (Five rays of moonlight). Audiences were receptive

to his beautiful singing voice and innovative style, which fused elements of sandiwara with wayang golek. At the first Binojakrama (wayang golek contest), held in 1968, he was chosen as a runner-up, which led to broadcasts at the national radio station (RRI Bandung and RRI Jakarta) in 1969.[1] Shortly thereafter he received numerous invitations to perform at privately sponsored events and from 1968 to 1971 he was rarely at home. In 1971, Supriadi recorded his first cassette, "Nurkala Kalidasa," and throughout the seventies he recorded prolifically. By 2000 he had recorded more than one hundred stories (lakon). In 1972 he married Idjah Hadidjah, one of his former students, who became the featured singer for his troupe.[2] After establishing his reputation as one of the leading performers in the field, Supriadi entered his third career as a politician, twice serving as a member of the Fraksi Karya Pembangunan (FKP) DPR-D Tingkat II Karawang (Section on Development Activities for the Indonesian Legislative Assembly at the Second Level for the Regency of Karawang).

Ade Kosasih Sunarya

Giri Harja (Mountain of prosperity) is the name of the artistic community (*padepokan seni*) founded by A. Sunarya in Jelekong, a village located approximately twenty kilometers southeast of Bandung.[3] A. Sunarya was born in the neighboring village of Manggahang in 1918. Sunarya learned mainly from his father, Juhari, who had studied with Uyut Suwanda. Sunarya was an innovative and popular dalang during the postindependence years through the seventies. He was best known for introducing new and numerous ogre characters in performance. Later in his career, Sunarya was loved by the people for his outspoken criticism of government corruption. He married Abu Cucun Jabaedah in 1940 and they had seventeen children, four of whom died at birth. A. Sunarya died in 1988 and his wife died in 1992. Four of their children have become professional dalang.

The name Giri Harja refers to individual troupes associated with this particular lineage and performance style. Hence, Giri Harja I was the name of A. Sunarya's troupe, and his eldest son to become a dalang, Ade

Kosasih Sunarya, directs the troupe Giri Harja II.[4] There are three additional professional troupes led by A. Sunarya's sons: Giri Harja III (Asep Sunandar Sunarya), Giri Harja IV (Ugan Sunagar Sunarya), and Giri Harja V (Iden Subasrana Sunarya). Sons of the dalang who direct these troupes use the name Putra Giri Harja (*putra* = child) to refer to their own troupes; male descendants of A. Sunarya's daughters use the name Putu Giri Harja (*putu* = grandchild). One of Sunarya's daughters, Nani, also performs occasionally as a dalang. The close correlation between the transmission of knowledge and family relationship is evidenced among the Sunaryas, where practically every male member is a dalang. Moreover, this appearance of a virtual craft monopoly is confirmed by an article that refers to the Sunarya family of dalang as a dynasty (*dinasti*), especially because of the dominance and tremendous popularity of A. Sunarya's two sons, Ade Kosasih Sunarya and Asep Sunandar Sunarya, in the contemporary Sundanese wayang golek scene (Dharmawan and Afryanto 1994, 28–35).

Born in 1947, Ade Kosasih trained with his father from a very early age. When he was in elementary school he traveled with his father and performed his first afternoon wayang at the age of nine. Ade Kosasih performed his first evening wayang at the age of twelve. Although he quickly fell behind in his studies, his reputation as a *dalang cilik* (child dalang) grew rapidly, and he left school after completing the sixth grade.

His father taught Ade Kosasih the wisdom of wayang (hikmah wayang), which lies in debating existential aspects through the stories. In a family almost entirely composed of dalang, stylistic differentiation became important in the recognition of talent. The brothers were distinguished stylistically within the family at an early age. According to one family member, A. Sunarya blessed his son Ade Kosasih by blowing on his lips, whereas it was younger brother Asep's hands that were similarly blessed. In current practice, Ade Kosasih is known for his singing and storytelling abilities, whereas Asep Sunandar is known for his intricate, visually captivating puppet manipulation.

In the seventies Ade Kosasih became one of the most popular and sought-after dalang in West Java. His career was bolstered by numerous successful cassette recordings, beginning with "Dawala Gugat" (1973).

Asep Sunandar Sunarya

Asep Sunandar Sunarya, the seventh child of A. Sunarya, received a different kind of training from his older brother. Born in 1955, he was raised by his father's younger sister because at that time the family could not afford to support all the children. Not until he was a teenager did he learn the identity of his father. Living in Jelekong, he had contact with wayang golek from an early age, but he took a serious interest in it only after graduating from junior high school, at the age of fifteen. He performed his first afternoon wayang golek in 1972. Except for a six-month course for dalang in the city of Bandung in 1973, he learned by accompanying his elder brother and father to performances, watching other dalang perform, and listening to commercial cassettes.

In the mid-seventies he began to gain a reputation as a rising star (*dalang ngora*) as he performed more frequently each year. In the early eighties Asep Sunandar developed a particularly innovative style inspired partly by the music, film, and television popular at that time. In 1985 he received first prize in the annual Binojakrama, which further enhanced his professional standing among other dalang. In addition, he has been invited to perform on numerous tours abroad, which have increased his reputation at home. During the ten years preceding the fall of the Indonesian economy in 1998, he performed approximately two hundred times per year.

Dede Amung Sutarya

Another extremely successful dalang was Dede Amung Sutarya, whose success in the eighties and nineties matched that of Asep Sunandar. Dede Amung Sutarya was born in the region of Parakan Saat, in the eastern part of Bandung, in 1954. Dede Amung's father was Idid Wiharna, who played kendang (drum) and kacapi (zither) but did not become a dalang. After leaving elementary school at age nine, Dede Amung began accompanying his elder brother, Amung Sutarya, to performances. Dede Amung performed his first afternoon show at the age of thirteen and an all-night wayang at the age of fifteen. He estimates that in 1970 he performed an

average of five times per month. The following year he sought teachers in areas outside Bandung for the knowledge of Sundanese Kawi and Javanese language. He learned mantras and obtained mystical knowledge through fasting, meditation, and other spiritual exercises. When he returned to Bandung in 1972 he formed his own padepokan, Munggul Pawenang (World unity), named after the kingdom of Bima, the second Pandawa brother, who is known for his persistence, extraordinary physical strength, and loyalty. Dede Amung's performance schedule steadily increased throughout the seventies. In 1980 he made his first cassette recording and won first prize in the annual Binojakrama. The recognition earned him more performance opportunities as well as additional cassette recording contracts. To date he has produced thirty cassette recordings and is featured frequently on television and radio broadcasts. In 1994 he participated in a performing arts tour in Australia. During the nineties, he gave approximately two hundred performances per year throughout West Java.

PANCASILA

KETUHANAN YANG MAHA ESA

KEMANUSIAAN YANG ADIL DAN BERADAB

PERSATUAN INDONESIA

KERAKYATAN YANG DIPIMPIN OLEH HIKMAT KEBIJAK-SANAAN DALAM PERMUSYAWARATAN / PERWAKILAN

KEADILAN SOSIAL BAGI SELURUH RAKYAT INDONESIA

Notes

INTRODUCTION

1. Wayang time corresponds to the mythical past of the Ramayana and Mahabharata, the great epic narratives that constitute the main source for the wayang golek repertoire. In wayang time, gods, demons, warriors, princesses, ogres, animals, and clowns inhabit a mythical world that lies beyond material human existence. However, the dalang constructs the narrative in such a way that the words, actions, and behavior of these characters are made relevant to contemporary audiences' reality.

2. The Sundanese singers and musicians I interviewed for this book tend to use the term *sinden* in spoken communication, rather than the more formal Sundanese *pasinden* or the Indonesian *pesinden,* which are often used in written communication.

3. Boys are usually circumcised between the ages of four and seven.

4. The subject of this book is the Sundanese-language tradition of *wayang golek purwa,* the rod-puppet theater primarily used to tell tales derived from the Ramayana and Mahabharata story cycles. For the sake of convenience, I will refer to Sundanese *wayang golek purwa* throughout this book as wayang golek. Wayang golek purwa is the theater tradition most frequently performed for Sundanese-speaking audiences in West Java. However, non-Sundanese forms of wayang golek also exist in West Java. *Wayang golek cepak* (also called *wayang golek menak* or *wayang bendo*) is a performance tradition based along the north coast of West Java that is used to tell Islamic tales. A Sundanese-language form of wayang golek cepak still exists but performances are rare. Non-Sundanese genres of a related form called *wayang kulit* exist in West Java, including *wayang kulit Cirebon* (see Cohen 1997; Suanda 1985) and *wayang tambun* from Tambun, Bekasi.

5. The bloody coup that led to Suharto's rise to power took place on September 30, 1965. It was not until March 11, 1966, however, that Sukarno, Indonesia's first president, signed the document called Super Semar giving Suharto full authority to restore order. Super Semar was named after Semar, one of the most powerful characters in Javanese wayang mythology, but is also an acronym based on *Su*rat *Per*intah *Se*belas *Mar*et (the March 11th Order).

6. Wayang golek is not exclusively a male practice, but the vast majority of its practitioners are men.

7. I depart from Anderson's construction only in terminology when I term heterogeneous interests that fall outside the state's representation as interests belonging to the realm of "the people" or "society." This is not to say that a society's interests diverge in all cases from that of the state. Nor do the terms *nation, the people,* and *society* necessarily refer to homogenous, monolithic formations. I use them here particularly in terms of Anderson's formulation, which marks a highly problematic conflation produced by the hyphen in the term *nation-state*.

8. This is not to suggest a binary opposition between dominant producers and passive consumers. In wayang golek, spectators actively "produce" a multiplicity of meanings and producers "consume" technologies, cultural texts, and audience desires.

9. Increasing professionalization and the emergence of "hypervalorized" performers have occurred on a panregional level. See Foley 1979, 262; Clara van Groenendael 1985; Zurbuchen 1987, 243–44; Sears 1989, 122–40; Lysloff 1990; Kayam, quoted in Sears 1996, 264; Mrazek 1999.

10. On the contrary, my research suggests that explicit references to Islam became more frequent in wayang golek after 1965 (see chapter 6).

11. Discourse about Javanese wayang kulit and entertainment has had similar tendencies in European and American scholarship. Benedict R. O'G. Anderson, writing just before the advent of Suharto's New Order, remarks that due to the influence of commercial urbanism, nationalism, modernity, and Western civilization, "wayang itself seems, in the more metropolitan centers, to be changing rapidly from an education to a *mere* entertainment" (1965, 27; emphasis mine). According to Clara van Groenendael, modern forms of entertainment encourage competition among dalang, and, as a result, many dalang place an "*exaggerated* emphasis on the entertainment aspect of their performances at the expense of other aspects, the numerous warnings against this by prominent personages in the world of the dalang notwithstanding" (1985, 202; emphasis mine). In response to mass mediations and commercialization of the form, McVey notes a "general shift toward the concept of the dalang as *pure entertainer*" (1986, 74n; emphasis mine).

12. Salmun (1961, 10–11) notes that jurubharata recited tales about the descendants of the legendary Indian king Bharata.

13. Saleh Danasasmita (1983, 32), a Sundanese intellectual, makes a similar point.

14. A popular dalang works at night and sleeps during the day.

15. This notion resonates with Anderson's classic formulation of power in Javanese culture as a matter of accumulation, focus, and absorption from external sources (1990, 17–27).

16. Although I had contact with people from each of the nineteen kabupaten of West Java, most of the people I interviewed lived in the Priangan region. A historical study of the development of regional styles deserves further research. Regional styles (*sejak*) are based primarily on the use of regional Sundanese dialects as well as

musical performance practice that includes the use of pieces and musical treatments specific to the region. The main regional styles and their corresponding regencies (in parentheses) are: Priangan (Bandung, Cianjur, Ciamis, Tasikmalaya, Garut, Sumedang); Kaleran (Karawang, Bekasi, Indramayu, Majalengka, Cirebon, Kuningan); and Bogor/Sukabumi (Bogor and Sukabumi) (pers. comm.: Enoch Atmadibrata, June 9, 1994; R. Tjetjep Supriadi, November 1, 1994; Anis Djatisunda, February 28, 1995). Subang and Purwakarta dalang have been influenced by both Priangan and Kaleran regional styles.

17. In 1864, Bandung became the center for the colonial administration of West Java (S. Williams 2001, 32). A new railroad system began operating in 1884, linking Bandung with Jakarta. The population of Bandung more than doubled from 1893 to 1906 (Hardjasaputra 2000, 127).

18. Sandiwara developed in West Java during the early twentieth century (Brandon 1974).

19. For more information on jaipongan, see Manuel and Baier 1986.

CHAPTER 1

1. The following historical data are based primarily on five sources: Salmun 1961; B.P. Jajasan 1964; Wiryanapura 1977; Soepandi 1982; Elan Surawisastra, pers. comm., 1994, 1999.

2. Wayang golek has received far less scholarly attention than its theatrical counterparts in central Java and Bali. The extensive literature on Javanese wayang kulit has been summarized elsewhere and need not be repeated here (see Clara van Groenendael 1987). During the colonial period, scholars believed that wayang forms in central Java and Bali more closely reflected Hindu mythology and religious beliefs, and were therefore more worthy of study (Sears 1996). The scholarly literature of the colonial period also emphasized literary and linguistic aspects of wayang and there is relatively little written information on the history and performance practice of wayang of any type.

3. During the early reign of Wiranatakoesoemah II, the kabupaten was located in Dayeuh Kolot (about fifteen kilometers south of Bandung), until he moved it to Bandung in 1810.

4. Dalang from Tegal, who performed wayang kulit, must have also been familiar with wayang golek cepak, a form of wooden-puppet theater practiced on the north coast of central Java. Foley (1979, 27–30) suggests that Sundanese wayang golek grew out of wayang golek cepak; the new form differed only in story repertoire (Hindu-based purwa stories and not tales about Muslim heroes or local Javanese kingdoms), language and music (Sundanese and not Javanese).

5. Further examination of plantation administration records would illuminate the nature of wayang golek in these settings.

6. Lakon "Bangbang Ekalaja," performed by Dalang Soekatma and his troupe, Gramophone Company GC 7–12523/12524/12525/12526, recorded in January 1911 and released in June 1911. I thank Philip Yampolsky for this information as well as other data and sources pertaining to the period of 78 rpm production.

7. Partai Nasional Indonesia, the Indonesian Nationalist Party.

8. Ricklefs writes that the Japanese used communications technology as well as live and mediated dramatic performance for political purposes: "Movies, drama, wayang and especially radio were used to spread Japanese messages. Because of a shortage of radio sets, much radio propaganda was broadcast through loudspeakers erected in public places" (1993, 202).

9. Elan Surawisastra, pers. comm., June 16, 1994. Keimin Bungka Sidhosa was an official cultural organization designed to promote the Japanese ideas of a Greater East Asia.

10. In Javanese *catur* means talk. Sundanese more commonly refer to this type of performance as *ditambul* (lit., to eat [something] without rice), to indicate the absence of an essential ingredient: wayang puppets.

11. The Five Principles are: belief in God, nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy, and social justice.

12. The use of indigenous communication systems (called folk media, or traditional media) for development programs has been discussed in Dissanayake 1977, 1988; Lent 1982. Dissanayake defines traditional media as "folk plays, ballads, puppetry, rituals, etc. which have been handed down from generation to generation and are still a vital creative force in many parts of the world" (1977, 122). Traditional media have several advantages over modern media: they have more credibility; unlike modern media, they are not viewed as alien and elitist in outlook; their idioms and symbols are familiar to the people; they are able to reach remote areas; and they are participatory.

13. Sulaiman, subsection of wayang golek programming at RRI Bandung [*Bagian Siaran Wayang Golek RRI Bandung*], pers. comm., March 22, 1995.

14. During 1994–95 auditions were conducted during informal daytime performances that occurred on the second Sunday of every month at the zoo in Bandung. The zoo was a site for public performance of many kinds of traditional performing arts (Spiller 2000).

15. Yulia Dadang Romansyah, subsection of wayang golek programming at RRI Bandung, pers. comm.

16. The first television broadcast in Indonesia took place on August 17, 1962, in Jakarta and was followed by intensive coverage of the Fourth Asian Games, held in Jakarta, August 24–September 4, 1962 (Kitley 2000). In 1976, Indonesia launched

the domestic broadcast satellite Palapa I, which brought television transmission to almost all parts of the nation.

17. TVRI broadcasts from the main station in Jakarta, as well as from various regional stations in Indonesia. Each regional station is under the direction of TVRI Jakarta but has some input on local programming.

18. For information on national and local organizations active in central Java, see Clara van Groenendael 1985, 133–51; Sutton 1991, 173–91.

19. In his discussion of government intervention in the arts, Yampolsky notes, "It may be that I use 'Depdikbud' too loosely in this paper, ascribing to Depdikbud some practices that are really those of Penerangan or other branches of the government" (1995, 710n28).

20. Sundanese use the spelling *padalangan,* but in official Indonesian contexts the term *pedalangan* is used.

21. The predecessor to SMKI was the Conservatory for Performing Arts (Konservatori Karawitan Indonesia, KOKAR) founded in 1958. In 1976 it was renamed SMKI. The Academy for Indonesian Music and Dance (Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia, ASTI) was founded in 1970, and in 1996 it was renamed the College of Performing Arts (Sekolah Tinggi Seni Indonesia, STSI). I use the older title ASTI because my data is based on material gathered before the name was changed.

22. High schools and universities also sponsored performances in conjunction with graduation ceremonies. Private performances and hotel performances, where an admission fee was charged, were comparatively rare.

23. Dalang E. Yuyun Koswara, who from 1963 to 1977 served as the Garut representative of the Central Wayang Foundation of West Java, is quoted as saying that "if the regional government does not support or encourage the regional arts, it is automatic that those arts will not flourish and progress" (in B. Iskandar 1980, 20).

24. Based on research conducted in 1964, Brandon (1974, 270) reports that in some cases, the sinden made five to six times what the dalang earned (100,000 to 300,000 rupiah per night [$241–$723], compared to the dalang's salary of 50,000 to 60,000 rupiah per night [$120–$145]). Although the figures reported by Brandon appear inflated, the popularity of the sinden during that era is noteworthy. Foley (1979) reports that even in 1978 a top sinden earned as much as the dalang—$200 or more.

25. In 1994–95 the top troupes earned between three and six million rupiah ($1,500–$3,000) for a single performance. A mid-level troupe received between two and three million rupiah ($1,000–$1,500); a low-level troupe received one to two million rupiah ($500–$1,000). In comparison, an elementary school teacher earned approximately 150,000 rupiah per month (about $75) in 1994. In areas outside the province of West Java, performance fees were higher, particularly for government-sponsored performances. The dalang received at least half of the total fee, while the

remainder paid for transportation, crew, and musicians. A performance schedule for the busiest dalang included over two hundred performances per year.

26. For an excellent study of wayang golek puppet-making techniques and iconography see Suryana 2002.

27. New kinds of paint made these iconographically "fixed" puppets appear more vibrant, and they became more highly ornamented, but these changes were minor compared to those applied to clowns and ogres.

28. Surawisastra uses Gatotkaca's kingdom of Pringgandani to illustrate this scene because Gatotkaca was one of the dominant characters in wayang golek during the New Order (Weintraub 2001b). However, the location for this scene can be more generally described as the second kingdom (Karatonan II), which opposes the first kingdom.

29. Surawisastra does not name this battle scene, which results from the conflict between the two kingdoms.

30. This scene is also not named.

CHAPTER 2

1. At the time the article was published there were indeed many horror films featuring zombies showing in movie theaters, and the term circulated among wayang golek audiences.

2. Salmun (1961, 180) defines *tetekon* as "principles of etiquette in wayang" and states that a character's voice (*sora*) and timbre (*lentong*) differ according to the underlying tonal structure (*patokan*) of the accompanying musical piece (188).

3. For sources and a detailed discussion of pakem in Javanese wayang kulit, see Sears 1996, 174–88. According to Sears, Dutch scholars employed by the colonial administration encouraged dalang in the court city of Surakarta to produce preferred tellings of stories in written form in an effort to inscribe a Hindu-Buddhist Javanese past and to elevate the village tradition to a court art form.

4. The first edition, entitled *Padalangan di Pasoendan,* was written in 1942 and first published in 1948. It was revised in the early 1950s and published in a second edition in 1961 as *Padalangan.*

5. In the preface to the 1942 edition Salmun writes: "In addition to asking practitioners who are very knowledgeable, it was necessary to read many books by clever authors, both Indonesian scholars as well as foreign scholars, available at the Balai Pustaka or at Gedong Gadjah" (1961, 6). For his summary of two major story cycles, he cites W. Palmer van den Broek's edition of *Arjuna Sasra Bahu* (1870) and the work of H. W. van Prooye-Salomons and R. A. A. Martanagara for information on the Ramayana. His bibliography of thirty-two items includes major works

by Dutch scholars and members of the Javanese elite of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

6. In *Pengetahuan Pedalangan II* (Sumarno and Rasona 1983, 9), a textbook used at SMKI Bandung, these twelve items are credited to a publication called *Bromartani* (*Bramartani*) (1878, nos. 32, 32b). The material later appeared in the *Serat Sastramiruda* by Kusumadilaga (1879). I thank Sumarsam for information about the above source, which is discussed in Ras 1976, 58–60 and Sears 1996, 99–109.

7. Salmun (1961, 190) devotes considerable attention to types of jokes inappropriate to place, character, and time.

8. *Pakem* here refers specifically to the written sources created by Javanese intellectuals in the nineteenth century.

9. Salmun's examples of suluk are borrowed from a text by the Surakarta court dalang Ki Reditanaja, published in a Dutch translation in Tjan Tjoe Siem 1938.

10. Salmun uses the Sundanese spelling *patet* for the Javanese term *pathet.* In Javanese wayang kulit, the entire performance is structured around three basic units or acts (see Becker 1979). The musical materials used in each act are organized in conjunction with musical modes (pathet) that are correlated with times of night and moods.

11. Elan Surawisastra, a highly respected elder dalang who received his training as a dalang in the 1920s and 1930s, contends that patet was never an operative concept in Sundanese wayang golek (pers. comm., June 16, 1994).

12. According to Hedy (1994), a related form, called *wayang golek teknik,* was invented by a dalang named Diatmadja. Like wayang golek moderen, it used the smoke, fire, guns, explosions, lights, and sound effects but was performed by a single dalang. By the late eighties wayang golek teknik had died out.

13. This organization, founded on August 1, 1975, focused on the documentation of stories and song texts.

14. Soepandi trained with older musicians and dalang in his family. Soepandi received the SKar (Sarjana Karawitan, MFA) degree from the college-level music and dance school Akademi Seni Karawitan Indonesia (ASKI) in Surakarta in 1979. His works have been published by government as well as private presses; some of his publications are available to the general public in bookstores.

15. Soepandi defines *sendon* as a type of song used for sad scenes (1984, 34); *renggan* are songs used for happy scenes (1988a, 171); *talutur* is not defined. Only *sendon* is a Javanese classification; *tlutur* (talutur) is the title of a specific sendon. Partasuwanda (1960a, 3) classifies the kakawen repertoire into four categories (although only two are clearly defined): *talutur* (high-pitched); *sebrakan* (exemplified by two kakawen but not explained); *sesenden* (utilizes the sorog tuning system); and *singset* (exemplified by one kakawen but not explained).

16. *Binoja* is from the base *boja* (Achmadwidjaja n.d., 21). The Sanskrit word *bhojana,* according to Doktorandus Y. Ganda, means sacred food, or offering in

West Java. By infixing the syllable *in,* emphasis is added. *Krama* means marriage or gathering. So Binojakrama means "a gathering at a feast."

17. The usage of terms in the contest that diverge from common parlance reflects the organization's impetus to formalize the status of performers according to its criteria.

18. I use the term *assimilated* as a translation of *luluh,* which literally means crushed (to powder). I assume that the implication here is that the messages must be so well-integrated and naturalized within the context of a wayang golek performance that they will become second nature to spectators.

19. According to dalang and to Officer Sapa'at Suwanda (pers. comm., 1994), Pepadi works from the top down, in contrast to Yayasan Pedalangan Jawa Barat, which is a grassroots organization.

20. Ben Zimmer (1996) has written about the "concealing strategy" in Sundanese literary forms. I owe the following translations of the *Panca S* (five aesthetic concepts) to him (after Soepandi 1984, 85–86; Soepandi, Danasasmita, and Sukanda 1992, 54–58). The Five S's are five ways of partially concealing meaning: *sasmita* (signals to cue the accompanying musicians and singer), *silib* (hidden lesson or advice), *siloka* (figurative language hiding a deeper meaning), *simbul* (symbolism or metaphor), and *sindir* (allusive teasing or criticism).

21. Messages are typically inserted into comic dialogue sections or songs. A dalang who advocates government programs too blatantly in performance will be received unfavorably by spectators (Tjetjep Supriadi, pers. comm., October 28, 1994).

22. The Indonesian term *etika* may mean either ethics or etiquette.

23. The invention of new terms, particularly those based in Sanskrit, "has been a common linguistic strategy in formulating and labeling national culture" (Acciaioli 1997, 290; see also Foulcher 1990).

CHAPTER 3

1. Dasentra (*Da*ya *Sen*i *Tra*disi Sunda, The essence of traditional Sundanese performing arts) is a production company directed by popular music composer and producer Ubun Kubarsyah. It has become a meeting place for Sundanese artists, intellectuals, members of the cultural elite (*budayawan*), and literary figures (*sastrawan*), as well as local politicians interested in the arts. SP Records is one of the main cassette recording companies that produces recordings of wayang golek, including those recordings of Asep Sunandar produced in the eighties. Jugala (*Ju*ara *Ga*ya dan *La*gu, The leader in style and music) is an arts production house and recording studio directed by producer Gugum Gumbira and well-known singer Euis Komariah. Gugum Gumbira is the principal force behind the creation and

development of the eighties dance and music genre called jaipongan, as well as the production and distribution of commercial cassettes related to the genre.

2. My knowledge of artistic training at Giri Harja is based on participation and observation: learning rudimentary puppet manipulation, music, and vocalization for characters' voices; watching children and other Sundanese students train; and traveling with the troupe to performances. In most cases my experience as a student dalang and musician was different from other Sundanese students; in some cases I believe it was the same. My knowledge about the communities Munggul Pawenang and Panca Komara (see biographies) is based on interviews, observation, and performances.

3. For more information on speech levels used in wayang golek, see Foley 1979, 172–78.

4. Elan Surawisastra (pers. comm., 1999) related the humorous story of a student dalang who referred to Tjetjep Supriadi as his main teacher but did not know where he lived.

5. Registration of troupes is more recent. According to data on performance troupes compiled by the Department of Information in 1993 for the regency of Bandung (comprising nineteen kecamatan, or districts), there were seventy registered wayang golek troupes (Deppen 1993).

6. All these estimates reflect the number of dalang in West Java (excluding Jakarta and including non-Sundanese Cirebon and parts of Banten) and are not limited to wayang golek; however, by far the majority of Sundanese dalang perform primarily wayang golek rather than wayang kulit.

7. Data for the kabupaten of Pandeglang, Lebak, DKI Jakarta Raya, Subang, Indramayu, and Kuningan were not included in the report. It is difficult to say whether the total number of dalang is more accurate than earlier figures simply because the lists are based on dalang who have registered. Criteria for registration as a dalang are not explicitly stated.

8. The English version of Dede Amung Sutarya's statement is taken from my interview notes for May 1, 1995.

9. These designations are listed along with photos of individual dalang in Partasuwanda 1960c. Other dalang are promoted in Partasuwanda 1960b. For example, Barnas Somantri is a *dalang penerangan* (government information dalang) and Atjeng Achmad is a *dalang intelek* (intellectual dalang).

10. *Kritis* in this sense refers to a dalang who is adept at offering a critique of social and political issues in performance.

11. This decrease in performance opportunities was due to several factors. After the events of 1965–66 (when Suharto seized power), dalang were brought in for questioning about their possible involvement in Lekra, the artistic wing of the Communist Party, and, for some, even the threat of being interrogated made them afraid to perform.

12. Created in the early sixties, dangdut is a form of Indonesian popular music that blends drums, melodies and textures from Indian film music, with flutes from the Middle East, and electric guitar solos from American and English rock. Tagoni is a vocal genre accompanied by four *terbang* (frame drums), harmonica, *suling* (flute), tam-tam (tambourine), and maracas (Soeryawan n.d., 85). The Islam-influenced genre, also called *ḳasidah,* is played by amateurs who are students of Islam (Suanda 1981, 41n16).

13. It is important to make the distinction between Supriadi's style and *wayang sandiwara,* a genre created by Endang Sulaeman in 1962 that used painted backdrops for different scenes (see Soepandi 1988c, 51).

14. These vocalizations differed from the ones they had learned from their father through the guru-catrik system of transmission.

15. Performances in Bahasa Indonesia are rare. According to Dede Amung, he was persuaded by an order from a high-ranking official to use Bahasa Indonesia in a television performance of wayang golek in 1987 (pers. comm., March 12, 1996).

16. *Palsapah* (or *pilsafah*) is actually from an Arabic word (*falsafa*). Dalang also use the Dutch *filosofie* (philosophy), which has been introduced into discussions of wayang through official channels. The Sundanese concept of palsapah, or filosofie, essentially refers to the deeper meanings or messages embedded in wayang.

17. The influence of Tjetjep Supriadi on Asep Sundandar was profound. For the clown scenes, Asep Sunandar followed Supriadi, who favored Cepot, whereas Asep Sunandar's father favored the comic character Dawala.

18. This practice contrasts with Keeler's description of dalang in central Javanese wayang kulit. Keeler writes that the dalang "does not alter the tradition in any way; his performance leaves no trace" (1987, 196).

19. With the exception of Cepot, the puppets do not have legs, although the practice is known in north-coast wayang golek cepak. According to Tosin Muchtar, "Dalang Ono Suryana was the first to give Cepot a cigarette. Dalang Nandang Karba was the first to use Cepot with a leg" (pers. comm., March 2, 1995). According to Sapa'at Suanda, Dalang Diatmadja, the creator of wayang teknik, invented puppets that could vomit, which later became Asep Sunandar's trademark. Capitalizing on innovations of others is by no means exclusive to Asep Sunandar.

20. MR 1988, 9. Asep Sunandar's performances were particularly well received by a younger generation of male fans. One fan remarked, "Because of the style carried out by that dalang, it is more communicative and easier to grasp especially by teenagers. Dalang Asep knows well the desires of youth today. He knows how to manipulate our desires" ("Rumaja & Dalang" 1987, 56).

21. In rebuttal, one journalist asked, "Is that any more sadistic than killing a chicken?" (Suwarna 1983, 51).

CHAPTER 4

1. "Emen" is a song that was popular at the time of the performance.

2. In the plot, King Naga Percona wishes to marry the angel Supraba, the most beautiful angel in Heaven. In this scene, the ogres have been ordered by Naga Percona's general Kalapideksa to capture the angel and bring her back to the king's palace.

3. For a transcription in Sundanese and translation into English of the entire text of this lakon in performance, see Sunarya 1998. For a recording of the entire performance, see Weintraub 2001b.

4. Dayeuh Kolot is a factory town approximately ten kilometers south of Bandung on the main road that connects Bandung with large towns to the south, including Ciparay and Majalaya.

5. Zipur is an acronym derived from Batalyon Zen*i* Tem*pur* III Komando Daerah Militer III Tentara Siliwangi (Battalion Zeni Tempur III, third regional military command of the Siliwangi army division).

6. Benedict Anderson (1965) has discussed the emergence of Gatotkaca as a hero around the time of Indonesia's independence.

7. Dyer exemplifies this point as follows: "Whether canvassing the need for the left to use entertainment forms as the vector to reach the mass of the people, condemning the dominant ideology for its unabashed recourse to entertainment for the promulgation of existing class, gender and race relations, or joining the two in (rightly) characterizing entertainment as a site of ideological struggle, such accounts in general take what the sugar is as unproblematic" (1992, 5).

8. Officials often depart after the first scene.

9. For a general description of Sundanese language levels, see Uhlenbeck 1964 and Wessing 1978. The best Indonesian commentary on Sundanese language levels is the collection of essays in Rosidi et al. 1987.

10. In June 1994 the government closed down three domestic news and cultural magazines that were comparable in scope and influence to *Time* and *Newsweek*.

11. These tendencies became even more prevalent during the final years of Suharto's reign and through the post-Suharto years (see chapter 8).

CHAPTER 5

1. I use my own descriptive term, *multilaras gamelan,* because there is no widely accepted term for this type of gamelan. During the nineties, tonal experimentation

took place in gamelan performance traditions of central Java (Perlman 1999; Mrazek 1999) and on Bali (Vitale 2002; Tenzer 2000; and McGraw 1999/2000), albeit in strikingly different ways.

2. The practice of playing tones or musical passages from different tuning systems on variable-pitch melodic instruments in conjunction with fixed-pitch accompaniment has garnered considerable attention in the ethnomusicological literature on Sundanese music. While pitches on most of the instruments are fixed, variable-pitch melodic instruments move freely in other tuning systems by adding "vocal tones" (Kunst 1973, 354), "modulating" between tuning systems (Tamura 1977, 69), or "embedding" melodic passages and "juxtaposing" entire song melodies (in a tuning other than the fixed pitch accompaniment) against the fixed-pitch accompaniment (Weintraub 1990, 68–71).

3. Sundanese conceive their scales as a set of descending pitches. It should be noted that gamelan are not tuned to either Western pitches or to an absolute pitch model. In the transcribed example, pitches correspond roughly to the Western pitches indicated; however, these referents should be understood as relative measures of pitch frequency.

4. Sapa'at Suwanda was not the only important figure of the seventies but was certainly one of the most influential. I have chosen to focus on Sapa'at Suwanda because of his stated connection to Pa Machjar, the sophistication of his theoretical formulations, and his strong popular appeal among wayang audiences of the seventies.

5. A barong is a fierce, powerful mythical animal. A complete gamelan salendro of comparable quality would have sold for roughly eight million rupiah (approx. $5,400) at the time (Endo Suanda, pers. comm., 1996).

6. Asep Sunandar had performed during the mid-eighties with a different, less sophisticated, multilaras set. I have chosen to focus on Ki Barong because it is the most advanced in terms of the number of possible laras available. Further, Asep Sunandar's incorporation of different laras within the musical repertoire of a wayang performance is much more extensive than other dalang of his generation.

7. Pa Machjar devised a system in which a dot below a cipher indicated a high pitch register, whereas a dot above a cipher represented a low pitch register (no dot indicates a middle pitch register). This practice is opposite from Javanese practice, in which a dot above a cipher indicates a higher pitch register. Musicians who use ciphers to explicate musical concepts are inconsistent in their use of dots to indicate pitch register. I have chosen to follow Pa Machjar's practice, which is standard at the music schools (STSI and SMKI) and in theoretical writings about music.

8. The configuration of keys on the saron-type instruments—slenthem, *panerus* (each with thirteen keys), and *peking* (fourteen keys)—is similar.

9. For the purpose of learning the basic configuration of keys on the saron for each respective laras in gamelan Ki Barong, musicians use a composite chart that

shows the basic configurations of keys in each tuning system (Pa Wandi, pers. comm., April 17, 1994). Once the configurations have been learned, there is no longer any need for the charts. Pa Wandi, one of the saron players in Giri Harja III, used such a chart in our weekly music lessons. Musicians learn pieces primarily orally, and certainly without the aid of notation. Graphic aids are used for learning the music, but not as a "performance map."

10. A term used increasingly to describe what I have been calling multilaras gamelan is *gamelan nada selap* (gamelan with inserted tones), which may refer to two types of gamelan: those in which all the tones used to play pieces in different tuning systems are arranged sequentially on the saron of the ensemble (including those discussed in this chapter), and those in which certain keys are replaced by others to create different tuning systems. The use of this term indicates that salendro is the a priori point of reference.

11. On the variable-pitch instruments, musicians are able to play pieces in different laras that utilize a common-pitch barang.

12. This process is sometimes referred to as *pindah barang, pindah patet,* or *pindah surupan* (lit., moving the barang, patet, or surupan). Musicians with whom I collaborated use these terms interchangeably without making subtle distinctions between them.

13. Another way musicians describe this particular configuration in relation to laras salendro is by saying that the [normative] *barang salendro* becomes *pancer* (*barang salendro jadi pancer*); the pitch used as a *pancer* tone is frequently *singgul* ("si"), or 5, and coincides with the normative barang salendro.

14. Musicians of Giri Harja III refer to this tuning as *laras madenda agung.* One musician explained that laras sorog pelog degung is sometimes called *madenda alit* (*alit* = small) because it is associated with "smaller," or higher, pitches. The transposed tuning is called *madenda agung* (*agung* = large, great) because it is associated with "larger," or lower, pitches (Pa Ayep, pers. comm., March 1995). The notion that high frequency tones are small (and low frequency tones are large) resonates with properties associated with other Sundanese musical instruments: on the saron, higher pitches are produced on smaller, thinner keys; in the voice, higher tones are produced by narrowing the opening in the throat; and on the kacapi, higher pitches are produced on shorter, thinner strings.

15. My selection of only two instrument types (saron and bonang) here is not meant to imply that conceptualizations of these tunings on other instrument types are not important. On the contrary, Pa Endi, the rebab player for Giri Harja III, changes the tuning of the rebab so that the left-hand fingering positions need not be altered when playing melodies in different laras. The adjustments made for variable-pitch instruments (voice and rebab) are beyond the scope of this study and deserve further treatment.

16. The musical transcriptions used as illustrative examples in this chapter focus on melodic material because pitch content is the main musical difference between the repertoires of conventional gamelan salendro and multilaras gamelan. I have chosen to use a Western staff notation because it clearly shows melodic differences among melodies in varying tuning systems. However, the notes on the Western staff are only a rough approximation of the pitches used in multilaras gamelan. Similarly, rhythmic notation, especially in unmetered pieces, is necessarily approximate.

17. At this point the musicians switch to laras salendro for the dialogue.

18. Attempts to translate kakawen into Sundanese have met with disapproval because they would no longer be linguistically "strange" (Dede Amung Sutarya, pers. comm., May 2, 1995).

19. Kunst quotes Koesoemadinata on the relationship between mood and tuning. In a quarterly report to Kunst, Koesoemadinata notes that teachers tend to use pelog rather than salendro (Javanese, *slendro*) in school because "the conditions under which the teachers live are beset with difficulties. They can hardly make ends meet on their scanty salaries. They always are in a melancholy mood, so that the bright, invigorating *slendro* does not appeal to their feelings. I, who, for the last five years, have got to know these teachers intimately, realize their difficult circumstances. If we are to save *slendro* from perdition, the position of these teachers must be considerably improved" (in Kunst 1973, 23).

20. Separate tempo indications do exist. Within a given wilet, tempi range from slow (*ḳendor*) to fast (*gancang*) to very fast (*ḳering*). Pieces in moderate tempo are simply indicated by a wilet designation, and a separate tempo indication is unnecessary.

21. As in the pangkat notation above, parentheses around the pitch numbers signify goong tones.

22. Piece structures are usually written using ciphers (arabic numerals) to indicate the positions of structural tones. Dashes are used to indicate structural beats between structural tones. Repeat signs indicate the cyclic nature of the patokan structure.

23. For at least the past twenty years, top dalang have had contracts with various companies, which pay the dalang to advertise their products in performance. Both government and commercial institutions send representatives to performances to check that dalang are actually inserting messages and advertisements, respectively, and dalang have to document their activities in this regard as part of their contract.

24. Sulaiman, an administrator of wayang golek broadcasts at RRI Bandung, believes there should be only one melodic instrument in the gamelan ensemble. With both playing at the same time, it's like having "two commanders" (*dua ḳomandan*) (pers. comm., June 1, 1994).

25. Bronze is the preferred and most expensive metal for gamelan, although other metals including iron and copper are used.

CHAPTER 6

1. In several pioneering studies, Sutton has noted the tremendous impact of cassette recordings on musical transmission, musical style, repertoire, and status (of individuals, styles, and genres) in regional traditions on the island of Java. These and other practices subsequently contribute to what Sutton calls the "crystallization" of specific traditions (1986). Sutton's work shows how cassettes: revolve around a limited number of performing groups and individuals (1985, 32); enhance popularity of dalang and may enhance individual careers, styles, and the production of instruments for other genres (1985, 37); produce greater differentiation between those who are recorded and those who are not (1985, 39–40; 1991, 215); and may make "regional stars of certain individuals who would be unlikely to gain recognition through the national media" (1991, 209).

2. This contrasts with comments by people who say that before amplification, which tends to be quite distorted, they could hear the musical ensemble clearly and from a greater distance away.

3. The gatekeeping practices of the cassette companies had significant effects on other performance genres in West Java. In an article entitled "Solving the Cassette Problem in West Java," the Coordinating Body for the Arts of Indonesia (Badan Koordinasi Kesenian Nasional Indonesia, BKKNI) reported on four factors: composers were not getting credit or royalties for their work; the artists were not being screened properly; profit was the main motive leading to a low standard of performance; and the masses have an undeveloped understanding of art (see BKKNI 1983). BKKNI proposed the creation of a team to evaluate products before their release, but the team was never created.

4. *Mang* (lit., uncle) is a term of respect for an elder male.

5. Record company producers whom I interviewed would not divulge exactly how many recordings their company had made nor how many copies of each recording had been produced or sold.

6. In a study of Hindustani musical performance, Neuman similarly found that on recordings, "some artists, it is claimed, will only provide a bare-bones version of what they are capable of presenting, in order to keep special knowledge out of the public domain" (1990, 224).

7. This situation is different from the mainstream Western popular music industry, where artists are compelled to recreate in live performances what they have recorded in order to satisfy fans' desires and expectations.

8. Innovations by mass-mediated star performers are accepted because of the authority these musicians have earned by embodying tradition: "And it is through their own embodiment of tradition that they are able, and find it necessary, to introduce musical innovations. . . . Their ability to produce innovations is a function of their musicianship of course, but just as important is their impunity to

accusations of being non-traditional. They are the definers of tradition" (Neuman 1990, 224).

9. A lesser-known dalang who imitates a well-known dalang will only be appreciated as a copy of the latter, thus limiting the former's chances to be celebrated in his own right.

10. I learned early on during my fieldwork that eliciting information from one dalang about another dalang's style and influence was extremely difficult and likely to end a good conversation. Further, it was odd for some dalang to have to explain what they do; they felt they had said all they have to say in a performance. Other dalang could talk for hours about themselves.

11. Data for this section includes a corpus of sixteen lakon recorded in 1970–80 and approximately forty lakon recorded from 1980 to the present (each lakon is composed of three one-hour cassettes). I am grateful to Kathy Foley for access to her personal collection of commercial recordings made between 1970 and 1980 and to Yoseph Iskandar for writing synopses for each lakon in the collection. Interviews with Sapa'at Suwanda, Ade Kosasih Sunarya, Barnas Somantri, among others, illuminated the stylistic connections among dalang recorded on cassettes.

12. Were it not for electronic mediations, as one dalang stated, they would never have heard each other perform (Endang Taryana, pers. comm., August 17, 1999). Especially among popular dalang, there is a stigma attached to watching each other perform. Cassettes are not the only ways in which dalang are influenced by others, but they are crucial to this process.

13. Soepandi (1988c, 45) uses this spelling.

14. A type of cold medicine.

15. A play on the word "sandiwara."

16. Pih and genever are alcoholic beverages.

17. For comic effect, the dalang distorts the pronunciation of the words here. *Korong* means snot; *dorong* means push.

18. His presence on cassettes indicates his popularity among the public; that is, cassettes are offered only to those who have already established a reputation.

19. Dalang do not necessarily manipulate puppets during cassette recording sessions.

20. This was an advertisement for the dalang Asep Taruna, whose fees were more affordable than other dalang who had made cassette recordings.

21. *Topeng banjet* is a form of Sundanese folk theater that is performed in Karawang and neighboring areas.

22. A slogan of the Sukarno era.

23. Cepot, like the typical Sundanese rural inhabitant, cannot keep up with the changing lexicon of official Indonesian. For example, he confuses the term for national unity (*persatuan*) with the name of the Indonesian national soccer team (*persija*).

24. The name of a person.

25. Types of narcotics.

26. The main issue was that the lurah (district chief), who represented Suharto, wanted to be leader again.

27. "Sekarang dalang-dalang ikut penonton. Dulu dalang-dalang membawa penonton." Otong Rasta, pers. comm., March 31, 1994.

CHAPTER 7

1. The use of mass media and the bureaucracy to discourage public gatherings has been noted by wayang scholar Ward Keeler (1988). In the case studied by Keeler, television was used as a modern form of government authority to control the population by keeping them in their homes during a solar eclipse.

2. Uncle invokes the Sundanese term *gungclo,* which combines the words *gung* (gong) and *clo* (from *nyongclo,* sitting) and means "always there whenever or wherever the gamelan is played" (Suanda 1981, 32); *si gungclo* is a child who loves to sit and watch wayang all night.

3. Nonperformance genres—including *carita wayang* (wayang stories printed in newspapers and magazines) and *cerita gambar,* or *cergam* (wayang comic books)—are beyond the scope of this study but deserve further investigation. For a discussion of the latter, see Sears 1996, 273–86. I will refer to newspapers and magazines that carry news, information, personal profiles, announcements, criticism, and debates related to wayang.

4. For more information on the history, role, and audience construction of the private stations, see Kitley 2000.

5. These transformations include various reframings, or "packaging," of the arts for the mass media (see Zurbuchen 1990, 136; Yampolsky 1995).

6. This compartmentalization continued after the introduction of private stations, but along the lines of national (local) versus commercial (foreign). For example, in 1990, Minister of Information Harmoko stressed a complementary relationship among private and state television, arguing that the commercial stations were established to broadcast popular foreign shows, whereas TVRI would air the news. In this way only TVRI, and not the commercial stations, could participate in making the news (Kitley 2000, 254–55).

7. The slogan "Bhinneka Tunggal Ika," usually translated "unity in diversity," is more accurately rendered "Various, yet one" (see Kipp 1993, 109–10).

8. This is not to say that the discourse about wayang golek and television did not take place prior to the eighties; in fact, two years after the first television broadcast M. A. Salmun had written an article about the subject (1964a, 18–19). However,

television stations have only been broadcasting wayang golek regularly since the eighties.

9. The formulation of national government strategies was put forward at a meeting at the recently opened TVRI station in Cibaduyut (Bandung) on January 11, 1989. Presentations were published in a booklet edited by Subagio (1989). *Penisitron* is an acronym for *Pe*gelaran Se*ni* Tradi*Si*onal Elek*tron*ik (Wayang golek as an electronic traditional art). The word *Penisitron* plays off *sinetron* (electronic cinema), a term that refers to locally produced televised drama.

10. Hennion and Meadel (1986, 281–303) have made this argument for radio programs in France.

11. Salmun does not discuss the competition between wayang and "roving films" (*pilem keliling*) of the sixties, which traveled from one village to the next with nothing more than a projector, generator, sound system, and bedsheets that acted as screens.

12. "Misi wayang untuk mengumpulkan orang." In order to elicit this response, I had asked, "What is wayang golek's mission?" It was a loaded question. The term *misi* was part of the New Order vocabulary, as in the "state's mission" (*misi negara*) or a "foreign mission" (*misi asing*). I was trying to elicit information from dalang about wayang golek's place in the national formation of the New Order. I had expected an answer that emphasized wayang golek's mission to support development, national integration, or unity in diversity. Dede Amung's use of *misi* to mean *any* form of gathering people signified resistance to the articulation of wayang golek with national ideology.

13. The importance of spreading information within the context of wayang performance throughout Java and Bali must be seen in relation to other media (press and electronic media) during the fieldwork period, 1994–95. The closing of three news magazines in 1994 and the banning of the popular television talk show *Perspektif* in 1995 reflects the increasingly strict government censorship over the press and electronic media.

14. "Jangan semalam suntuk! Karena manusia sekarang adalah manusia sibuk."

15. "Media televisi: singkat, padat, dan menarik."

16. During my fieldwork I observed five recording sessions, and approximately twenty broadcasts. I videotaped two of the sessions and acquired copies of seven individual sessions from the television station. For his assistance, I thank Mukhtarudin in the Subsection for Culture and Drama (Sub Seksi Budaya dan Drama) at TVRI.

17. "Utamakan atraktifnya! Masyarakat sekarang adalah masyarakat cape, perlu hiburan enteng yang rame!"

18. This argument parallels the assertion that television actually brings the spectator closer to the performers. Martín Barbero writes: "In contrast to the space of film, so alluring precisely because of its distancing, the space of television is

dominated by the magic of the intimacy of seeing, with a proximity constructed by means of a montage which is not so symbolic or expressive but functional and sustained on the basis of a real or simulated 'direct shot.' In television the experience of seeing which predominates is that produced by the sensation of immediacy which is one of the characteristics of daily life" (1993, 217). Frith (1986) makes a similar argument for the microphone, which was used by American crooners during the 1930s to display a more personal style of singing.

19. "Jadi Ki Dalang itu harus mampu beradaptasi dengan lingkungannya."

20. "Tidak senang lawak, tidak senang banyak ngobrol, tidak senang tari."

21. "Dalang need to be given more opportunities to perform. And I'm happy because the TVRI station in Bandung has been the pioneer by broadcasting wayang golek two times per month" (Yogie, in Subagio 1989, ix).

22. Several dalang told me that performers have to pay the station for the privilege of performing on television.

23. Subagio states that "wayang golek is not the only entertainment form available to consumers. People now have many choices . . . among them, dangdut, pop Sunda, and pop Indonesia. . . . This development has created [a situation in which] wayang golek has fewer viewers" (1989, xx–xxi).

24. Kitley reports that although TPI "constructs its mission as a national service and sees itself as a public service broadcaster with clear paternalist goals" (2000, 105), its "programming, scheduling, and commercial orientation are not, in the view of many critics, entirely compatible with this audience construct" (110–11). Kitley shows that TPI broadcasts about 2 percent *more* commercials than its competitor RCTI (282).

25. The name of the show can be seen as a play on Asepso, a popular brand of bath soap. People that I have interviewed sometimes refer to the program using its former name, *The APEC Show,* after the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, formed in 1989 to promote open trade between the United States and twenty-one "member economies" around the Pacific Rim. It is not clear when the show was actually renamed.

26. *The Asep Show* was not the first program to incorporate Cepot and human actors. Asep Sunandar's older brother, Ade Kosasih, had performed wayang golek on television in 1988 in which puppets interacted with live musicians in a rock band. Dalang Asep Taruna combined Cepot and live actors, including well-known artists Sujiwo Tejo and Dewi Gita, on television in 1992–93 in Jakarta. The show ran for one year (five episodes) but was not renewed the following year. Taruna also brought Cepot into the realm of music television in a collaboration with pop star Farid Harja for his video "Ini Rindu." During the nineties Cepot appeared on television in advertisements for flu medicines and in commercials urging people to pay taxes. In 1997 a dramatic comedy called "Cepot and Copet Kepepet" (Cepot and the thief are trapped) aired.

27. I examined eleven programs broadcast in November 2001, as well as newspaper and Internet commentaries and interviews with performers and spectators between 1996 and 2001.

28. *Ketoprak humor* is a type of modern Javanese theater that became popular on television in the 1990s.

29. In 2000, RCTI broadcast *Ronda-Ronda* (Making the rounds) and SCTV had *Sahur Kita* (Our daybreak meal). Reportedly, the ratings of these shows were not able to compete with *The Asep Show,* which enjoyed a rating of 12 (compared to *Sahur Kita*'s 8) ("'Asep Show,' Cepot" 2001). According to reports, in 2001 ratings for *The Asep Show* fell slightly (with a rating of 10), compared with Indosiar's *Doa Membawa Berkah* (Prayer brings blessings; 12), RCTI's *PadaMu Kubersimpuh* (To you, I fall down on my knees; 10); ratings are unavailable for SCTV's competing sinetron, *Maha Pengasih* (Allah, the all-loving) (ibid.). The shows were profitable, yielding ten to twelve million rupiah ($1,000 to $1,200) per thirty-second commercial.

30. The title "Menunggu Glodok" combines the Indonesian verb *menunggu* (wait) with an altered spelling of the Sundanese *golodog* (steps in front of the home); in this program, Cepot waits in the train station to make an arrest. The title may also be a reference to *Waiting for Godot* in which Godot has been humorously changed to Glodok. I thank Ben Arps for alerting me to this play on words. Glodok is also a district in Jakarta with many Chinese shops.

CHAPTER 8

1. The spelling should be *ceceremed.*

2. Hers 1997. The interviewer posed the question: "What do you think is the plight of ordinary people in today's society?" ("Bagaimana tanggapan Anda mengenai masyarakat sekarang?"). The first part of Asep Sunandar's answer, not reprinted here, was that people had entered the modern era, economic development had led to social inequalities and social envy, and one effect was a rise in criminal activity.

3. Video CD, or VCD, is a digital movie format introduced by Philips and Sony in 1993 that never became fashionable in North America. However, it did become hugely popular in Indonesia and other parts of Asia, where people are more likely to watch a VCD than a VHS.

4. I focus on cassettes and not live performance also because I was only resident in Indonesia for two months during 1998–2001 and was not able to view many public performances. However, compared to the late New Order period, public performances took place infrequently during those years.

5. In another statement along these lines, Dede Amung noted that "if Asep [Sunandar] and I had supported Golkar during the elections, Golkar would have won" (pers. comm., August 16, 1999).

6. In Sundanese this is a familiar saying: *inggis ku bisi, rempan ku sugan* (afraid of what worries us, afraid of what might lie ahead).

7. The concept of Reformasi was further complicated by the proliferation of the term in commercial sectors. There was "nasi goreng Reformasi" ("Reformasi fried rice") and "sabun harga Reformasi" ("soap at a Reformasi discount"), among others.

8. In the Mahabharata, the kingdom of Astina, ruled by Duryudana, is the main source of dispute between the warring families of the Kurawa and Pandawa. The dispute leads to the Barata Yudha war, in which the Pandawa are victorious and Yudistira achieves his right to rule over Astina.

9. Cepot's comments echo Sukarno's speech in March 1964, where he told a U.S. ambassador, "Go to hell with your aid."

10. Based on a review of cassette recordings of approximately fifty lakon recorded between 1975 and 1997, dalang would rarely "actualize" or "topicalize" current events and issues. Rather, dalang emphasized wayang's immutable messages of good over evil, cosmic balance, and morality. Cassettes recorded in the seventies and eighties by superstars Tjetjep Supriadi, Ade Kosasih, and Dede Amung were being sold in stores in 2000. The post-Suharto cassettes would not likely be popular in ten years.

CHAPTER 9

1. For a critical interpretation of Taman Mini and the cultural politics of New Order Indonesia, see Pemberton 1994b.

2. The tone of the poster assumes that people do not believe that wayang and politics could be related in any way, that wayang could be a living form, and that it could be relevant to people's lives.

Biographies of Four Dalang

1. Tjetjep Supriadi captured first prize in the 1974 Binojakrama, in Bandung.

2. Idjah Hadidjah later became famous as a singer on many jaipongan cassette recordings released by Jugala, including her first release, "Tonggeret."

3. For an excellent description of daily life in Jelekong, see Fryer 1989, 27–49.

4. Upon A. Sunarya's death, the name Giri Harja I was passed on to his younger brother Lili Sunarya.

Glossary

The following definitions are my own, unless otherwise noted.

alok	a vocal part sung by a male vocalist; the male vocalist of the gamelan ensemble. Also called *juru alok* or *tukang alok*.
antawacana	the vocal differentiation of characters' voices in wayang. See *sekar antawacana*.
ASTI	Akademi Seni Tari Indonesia, the college-level Academy of Indonesian Music and Dance. Renamed STSI in 1996.
barang	the main or central pitch degree of a scale. Also called *tugu*.
bem	one of the main pitch degrees in a scale.
Binojakrama	the annual week-long contest for Sundanese *wayang golek*.
BKKNI	Badan Koordinasi Kesenian Nasional Indonesia, the Coordinating Body for National Arts of Indonesia.
bonang	a set of ten to twenty medium-size kettle gongs placed on cords strung through a wooden frame.
bupati	a regent, a government officer in charge of a regency.
buta	an ogre. Also called raksasa.
campala	a wooden knocker held in the dalang's left hand and rapped against the inside of the puppet chest. Used to cue the beginning and ending of a musical piece, to punctuate the dalang's narrative, and to play rhythmic patterns during certain musical pieces.
catrik	an apprentice.
Cepot	the oldest of Semar's sons. A boisterous and outspoken country bumpkin whose obscene language, bawdy dance movements, and carnivalesque humor challenge elitist social conventions and class hierarchies.

cipher notation	arabic numerals used to designate musical tones.
dalang (pl., dalang)	the puppeteer who manipulates all the puppets, delivers most of the narration and dialogue, and sings many of the songs during an all-night performance of wayang. The dalang coordinates an ensemble of eight to twelve male instrumentalists and is in complete control of the pacing and flow of events throughout the performance.
dangdut	a form of Indonesian popular music.
degung	a type of Sundanese gamelan with a specific tuning (called *degung* or *pelog degung*).
degung kawih	a *degung* repertoire of vocal pieces.
Depdikbud	*Dep*artemen Pendi*dik*an dan Ke*bud*ayaan, the Department of Education and Culture.
Deppen	*Dep*artemen *Pen*erangan, the Department of Information.
dua wilet	lit., double-wilet; a *wilet* treatment in which there are thirty-two conceptual beats per *goong* phrase.
galur	a classification for plots that refers to "the standard repertory, the 'classics' so to speak" of *wayang golek* (Foley 1979, 108–9). *Lakon galur* are the classic plots that every dalang should know.
gambang	a multioctave xylophone.
gamelan	a musical ensemble consisting mainly of tuned gongs and metal-keyed instruments as well as drums, xylophone, bowed lute, flute, and voice.
gamelan salendro	see *salendro*.
Golkar	*Gol*ongan *Kar*ya. The "functionary group" of Suharto's regime. Golkar is not technically defined as a political party (Pemberton 1994a, 4).
goong	the large hanging gong in a gamelan. Also spelled *go-ong*.
goong tone	a cadence tone that coincides with the striking of the *goong*. *Goong* tones are the most important structural tones in a piece.
hajat	a ritual feast for which a performance of wayang may be sponsored. The most common type of *hajat* is a wedding or a circumcision for a young boy.
hiburan	entertainment.

ibing	dance.
jagat	the banana-log "stage" of a wayang golek performance. It rests horizontally on a wooden stand.
jaipongan	a music and dance form created in Bandung in the 1970s. *Jaipongan* is rooted in Sundanese village performing arts, particularly the instrumentation, repertoire, and drumming style in Karawang.
janturan	in Sundanese *wayang golek,* rows of puppets that have been inserted into banana logs (*gebog*) and that remain positioned on either side of the *jagat* throughout the performance.
juru alok	the male singer in the gamelan ensemble. See *alok*.
juru penerangan	an information officer.
kabupaten	a regency. Regent's quarters.
kacapi	a long zither used to accompany *tembang Sunda,* an aristocratic vocal genre.
kakawen	poetry sung, in Sundanese Kawi, by the dalang to set the mood for a particular scene in Sundanese wayang golek. *Kakawen* are accompanied by a small subset of the ensemble consisting of the *rebab, gambang, kenong, goong/kempul,* and sometimes *saron*.
kampung	a hamlet or village.
Kawi	a poetic register of Sanskritized Old Javanese.
kawih	metered song. Also called *sekar tandak*.
kayon	a hide puppet used to open and close the performance, to delineate scene divisions, and to represent objects in the story (a bed, a tree, a throne). Also called *gunungan*.
kecrek	metal plates suspended from the puppet chest that are struck by the dalang's right foot.
kempul	a small hanging gong. Cf. *goong*.
kendang	a set of three laced drums, including a large drum (*kendang indung*) and two smaller drums (*kulanter*).
kenong	a set of large kettle gongs placed on a wooden frame. Also called *jengglong*. Can also refer to one of the main pitch degrees in a scale.
kenong tone	a tone that occurs at the midpoint of a *goong* phrase.

keupat	a style of walking specific to a particular character type.
Ki Barong	a gamelan played by the group Giri Harja III.
Ki Pembayun	a gamelan developed by R. M. A. Koesoemadinata in 1969.
kirata	a system of etymologizing in which parts of words are divided and then fitted together in a way that connects to the meaning of the original words. May also refer to formulaic narrative descriptions for characters and places (more commonly called *nyandra*).
komunikasi	communication.
lagu	a song, melody, or musical piece.
lagu jalan	a "traveling song" (*jalan* = road) that functions as a bridge between scenes.
lagu kawih	a vocal piece featuring the *sinden*.
lagu perang	battle music.
lakon	a plotline or story.
laras	a tuning system or scale.
liwung	a specific tuning system or scale. On gamelan Ki Barong, the pitch set [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] for this *laras* corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g♯, f♯, d♯, c♯]. Also called pelog liwung.
madenda	a specific tuning system or scale. Sometimes called *sorog*.
mataram	a specific tuning system or scale. On gamelan Ki Barong, the pitch set [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] for this *laras* corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g, f♯, d, c♯].
multilaras	an extended gamelan that enables musicians to choose from a variety of Sundanese pentatonic tuning systems (*laras*), which are all playable on one set of instruments.
murwa	an opening invocatory passage for a *lakon* that requests the blessings of ancestors, spirits, and Allah, and asks forgiveness in case mistakes are made.
nayaga	a musician who plays the musical ensemble called gamelan. Also called *panayagan, wiyaga, panabuh*.
New Order	(Orde Baru) a government that came to power under President Suharto after the bloody tragedy that ended President Sukarno's Old Order government (Orde Lama) in 1965.
nomor wilahan	numbers assigned to keys of the multilaras gamelan (*nomor* = number; *wilah* = key).

nyandra	a sung narrative description; a prolog.
opat wilet	lit., quadruple-wilet; a *wilet* treatment in which there are sixty-four conceptual beats per *goong* phrase.
Pa	from Bapa (lit., father); a Sundanese form of address to an older man.
padalangan	lit., the art of the dalang; a set of artistic practices that includes "singing, dancing, speaking, playing musical instruments, history, telling jokes, and creating stories" (Salmun 1961, 186). In Indonesian, *pedalangan*.
padepokan seni	lit., artistic community; the community associated with a particular genealogy of dalang and style of wayang. Sometimes simply *padepokan*.
pakem	written and spoken discourse pertaining to the artistic principles of performance.
palsapah	symbolic allusion to moral and ethical concepts in wayang.
panakawan	a clown servant in wayang.
Panca S	lit., Five S's; five ways of partially concealing meaning: *sasmita, silib, siloka, simbul, sindir.* Also called the Five Blades or Lima Seuseukeut.
Pancasila	The Five Principles of the Indonesian state: belief in God, nationalism, humanitarianism, democracy, and social justice.
pancer	alternating tones that occur between the main structural tones of a *patokan* piece.
panelu	one of the main pitch degrees in a scale.
pangkat	an introductory melodic phrase to a musical piece.
paribasa	a proverb.
pasinden	see *sinden*.
patet	see *pathet*.
pathet	a Javanese modal classification system. In Javanese *wayang kulit,* the entire performance is structured around three basic units, or acts. The musical materials used in each act are organized in conjunction with musical modes (*pathet*), which are correlated with times of night and moods. Also called *patet* in Sundanese music theory.
patokan	the underlying structure of tones (*patok* = stake, pillar) that establishes the basic tonal framework for many *lagu* in the gamelan *salendro* repertoire.

pedalangan	see *padalangan*.
pelog	a specific tuning system or scale.
pelog degung	a specific tuning system or scale. On gamelan Ki Barong, the pitch set [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] for this *laras* corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g♯, e, d, c♯].
pelog jawar	a type of pelog tuning system or scale. On gamelan Ki Barong, the pitch set [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] for this *laras* corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g♯, e, d♯, c♯].
penca silat	a form of Sundanese martial arts.
Pepadi	Persatuan Pedalangan Indonesia, the Union of Indonesian Dalang.
perang gagal	a type of battle scene that dramatizes the struggle between the opposing forces that constitute the central conflict in a wayang play.
pop Indonesia	Indonesian urban popular music.
pop Sunda	Sundanese urban popular music.
Priangan	the highland plateau that traverses the central and southern parts of West Java from the Puncak area (south of Jakarta in the west) to Tasikmalaya in the east. Also spelled Parahyangan, Parahiangan.
ramai	animated, excited, noisy.
rebab	a two-stringed spike fiddle.
rincik	a set of ten to twenty small kettle gongs placed on cords strung through a wooden frame. The kettle gongs are tuned an octave higher than those of the *bonang*.
ronggeng	a female singer or dancer in rural performing arts.
RRI	Radio Republik Indonesia, the national radio station network. RRI Bandung is the Bandung branch of the national radio station network.
ruatan	the ritual purification of a person, place, or object.
salendro	a tuning system or scale made up of nearly equivalent intervals. On gamelan Ki Barong, the pitch set [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] for this *laras* corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g, e, d, c].
sandiwara	a popular theater form that developed in West Java during the early twentieth century. Compared to the highly styl-

	ized inflections of *wayang golek,* characters speak with more realistic inflections.
sandiwara tunggal	a Sundanese narrative performance genre in which one individual performs several different voices.
saron	a metallophone with generally six or seven metal slabs, or keys, suspended over a trough resonator.
satengah wilet	lit., one-half wilet; a *wilet* treatment in which there are eight conceptual beats per *goong* phrase.
sawilet	lit., single-wilet; a *wilet* treatment in which there are sixteen conceptual beats per *goong* phrase.
sawilet satengah	lit., one and a half wilet; a fast *dua wilet* treatment or a slow *sawilet* treatment.
sejak	a Sundanese regional style.
sekar antawacana	a sung passage of dialogue associated with a specific character. Texts for *sekar antawacana* are in Sundanese, as opposed to the Sundanese Kawi texts, which are used for the *murwa* and *kakawen*. *Sekar antawacana* are accompanied by a small subset of the ensemble consisting of the *rebab, gambang, kenong, goong/kempul,* and sometimes *saron*.
sempalan	an invented plot not found in the major story cycles but based on wayang characters and plots. Also called *karangan*.
Senawangi	*Se*kretariat *Na*sional P*ew*ay*ang*an *I*ndonesia, the National Sekretariat for Wayang.
senggak	vocal calls and shouts that serve to make the music of the gamelan come alive.
sikon	lit., situations and conditions (*si*tuasi + *kon*disi).
sinden	one or more female singers in the gamelan. Also called *juru kawih, juru sekar, juru sinden, pasinden*.
singgul	one of the main pitch degrees in a scale.
slenthem	a metal-keyed instrument with keys suspended over tube resonators.
SMKI	Sekolah Menengah Karawitan Indonesia: the high school–level Conservatory for Performing Arts formerly called *Ko*nservatori *Kar*awitan (Kokar).
sorog	a tuning system or scale.

sorog pelog degung	a specific scale. On gamelan Ki Barong, the pitch set [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] for this *laras* corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [g♯, f♯, d, c♯, a].
sorog pelog jawar	a specific scale. On gamelan Ki Barong, the pitch set for this *laras* [1, 2, 3, 4, 5] corresponds to the approximate Western pitch set [a, g♯, e, d♯, b].
STSI	see *ASTI*.
suling	end-blown bamboo flute.
suluk	a mood song.
Sunda	a geographical, historical, and cultural construct that signifies home for the thirty-five million people who think of themselves as Sundanese.
Sundanese Kawi	a multilingual vocabulary from "Sanskritized old Javanese (a language called Kawi, but not to be confused with Sundanese Kawi), middle Javanese, the Cirebon-Tegal dialect of Javanese, and Sundanese" (Foley 1979, 183).
surupan	a scale, tuning, or register.
tagoni	a Jakarta-based vocal genre accompanied by a variety of percussion instruments.
tatalu	the overture that begins after people have had time to do the sunset prayer (*isa*), around 7:30–8:00.
tetekon	the set principles of performance in *wayang golek*.
topeng banjet	Sundanese folk theater of Karawang and neighboring regions.
TPI	Televisi Pendidikan Indonesia, Indonesian Educational Television; private television station that broadcasts *The Asep Show*.
tukang alok	see *alok*.
tumbuk barang	a common tone shared by two *laras* that serves as the central pitch degree for both laras.
TVRI	Televisi Republik Indonesia, the national television station network. TVRI Bandung is a regional branch.
wali	a pious leader; specifically, the nine pious leaders who brought Islam to Java.
wayang	genres of theater practiced in various forms and regional styles on the islands of Java, Bali, and Madura in Indonesia.

	Genres of wayang utilize various media—puppets, masks, or people—to dramatize stories from an extensive and varied repertoire.
wayang bodoran	a comedic wayang genre disseminated on commercial cassette recordings.
wayang catur	a genre of wayang stories told without puppets for radio broadcasts during the Japanese occupation.
wayang golek cepak	a wooden-puppet genre based on the north coast of West Java that is used to tell Islamic tales. Also called *wayang golek menak* or *wayang bendo*.
wayang golek moderen	a modern wayang genre created by Dalang Partasuwanda in the early 1950s.
wayang golek purwa	the rod-puppet theater tradition most frequently performed for Sundanese-speaking audiences in West Java. It is primarily based on the Ramayana and Mahabharata story cycles.
wayang kulit purwa	the shadow puppet theater tradition most frequently performed for Javanese-speaking audiences in Java. It is primarily based on the Ramayana and Mahabharata story cycles. Often called simply *wayang kulit*.
wayang siang	an afternoon performance of wayang that usually begins around eleven or noon and ends before the afternoon prayer (*asar*), around 3:30 or 4 P.M.
wilet	the formal expansion and contraction of the number of beats between *goong* tones.
Yayasan Pedalangan Jawa Barat	the Central Wayang Foundation of West Java. Formerly, Yayasan Pedalangan Pusat Jawa Barat.

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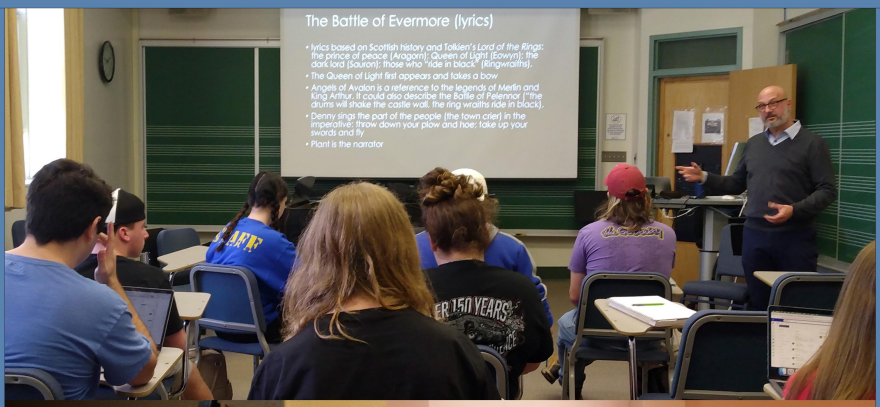
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• lyrics based on Scottish history and Tolkien's Lord of the Rings: the prince of peace (Aragorn); Queen of Light (Eowyn); the dark lord (Sauron); those who "ride in black" (Ringwraiths).
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• Angels of Avalon is a reference to the legends of Merlin and King Arthur. It could also describe the Battle of Pelennor ("the drums will shake the castle wall, the ring wraiths ride in black).
• Denny sings the part of the people (the town crier) in the imperative: throw down your plow and hoe; take up your swords and fly
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Cover illustration of wayang golek performance photographed b[illegible] puppeteer Dede Amung Sutarya, the puppets, the "stage," and the offerings hanging fro[illegible]nce.

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